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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET FOI/PA# 1199215-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 15
Page 3 ~ b6; b7C; b7E;
Page 13 ~ b6; b7C;
Page 21 ~ Duplicate - to serial 1;
Page 22 ~ Duplicate - to serial 1;
Page 23 ~ Duplicate - to serial 1;
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Page 25 ~ Duplicate - to serial 1;
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Page 135 ~ Duplicate - to serial 24;
Page 136 ~ Duplicate - to serial 24;
Page 137 ~ Duplicate - to serial 24;
Page 247 ~ Duplicate - to serial 24;
Page 248 ~ Duplicate - to serial 44;
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\*D-36 (Rev. 8-29-85)

DATE: 03-26-2013

CLASSIFIED BY NSICG/C98W57B22

REASON: 1.4 (c)

DECLASSIFY ON: 03-26-2038

FBI

	TRANSMIT VIA:  ☐ Teletype ☐ Immediate ☐ Facsimile ☐ AIRTEL ☐ Routine	CLASSIFICATION:  TOP SECRET  SECRET CONFIDENTIAL UNCLAS E F T O UNCLAS
	The state of the s	Date 3/15/93
	FM FBI LOS ANGELES (65X-LA-153918) (1 TO DIRECTOR FBI/PRIORITY/	ALD INFORMATION CONTAINED  HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  EXCEPT WHIRE SHOWN  OTHERWISE
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U)	CITE: //3410 FCI-3/	CU DO
		SSIFIED BY: 505 B7C b7E
	PRANCISCO SA	ASON:
	SUBJECT: UNSUBS, UNIDENTIFIED INDIV	
	DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION	
	INFORMATION; ESP-X; OO: LOS ANGELES	
	THIS ENTIRE COMMUNICATION IS CLA	ASSIFIED SECRET. (U)
		1.23X
Ī	MARCH 12, 1993 AND MARCH 15	AND SA 1993 REFERENCE SAN
L		REFERENCED DEXEC
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	^PAGE 2 65X-LA-153918 S E C R E T
	COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN SSA FBIHQ, AND SA
JTTL	LOS ANGELES RECEIVED AUTHORIZATION
<del>(U)</del>	AS TITLED AUTHORIZATION TO INTERVIEW
	A FORMER ADL EMPLOYEE, WHO MAY HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF
	HOW THE ADL CAME INTO RECEIPT OF AN FBI DOCUMENT, WAS OBTAINED
	DURING REFERENCED TELCAL OF MARCH 15, 1993. REFERENCED SAN
(S)	FRANCISCO FILE IS AN INVESTIGATION
(S) [	oo: san
	FRANCISCO. REFERENCED FILE INCLUDED INFORMATION THAT THE ADL
	WAS IN POSSESSION OF AT LEAST ONE FBI DOCUMENT THAT MAY
	CONTAIN CLASSIFIED INFORMATION. (\$\formalle{\pi}\)
	FOR INFORMATION OF FBIHQ, INSTANT INVESTIGATION WAS
	PREDICATED ON INFORMATION DEVELOPED BY FBI SAN FRANCISCO
(S)	DURING ITS INVESTIGATION OF DURING AN INTERVIEW
(S)	WITH DISCUSSED THE
	ORIGINS OF A DOCUMENT FOUND IN THE POSSESSION OF THE ADL
	TITLED THE NATION OF ISLAM (NOI). THE DOCUMENT IS IN FACT AN
	FBI LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM (LHM) THAT WAS DATED JANUARY 147
	1988, WHICH ORIGINATED IN CHICAGO, FILE 100A-57011, AND IS
	TITLED THE NATION OF ISLAM (NOI); DOMESTIC TERRORISM - NOI;

b1 b3 b6 b7

^PAGE 3 65X-LA-153918 S E C R E T

OO: CHICAGO. THE LHM WAS DISSEMINATED VIA COVER AIRTEL TO THE BUREAU, ALEXANDRIA, DALLAS, LOS ANGELES, NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, PHOENIX AND CHICAGO. CONTAINED WITHIN THE LHM WAS SOURCE REPORTING THAT INDICATED THAT THE LEADER OF NOI, LOUIS FARRAKHAN, WAS IN CONTACT WITH MOAMMAR QADHAFI, FOR THE PURPOSE OF SOLICITING FUNDS FOR NOT THE LHM, WHILE NOT SPECIFICALLY CLASSIFIED, WAS LOCATE IN A CLASSIFIED FILE. PREVIOUS VERSIONS OF THE LHM WERE DISSEMINATED AS ATTACHMENTS TO A SECRET AIRTEL, SENT UNDER CHICAGO FILE 199G-1076. CLASSIFICATION LEVEL OF THE ATTACHMENTS WAS NOT INDICATED. AROUND THE TIME FRAME OF MARCH, 1989, RECALLED SEEING A COPY OF THE LHM IN THE FILES OF THE ADL IN LOS ANGELES. ATTACHED TO THE COPY OF THE LHM WAS A COVER MEMO FROM ADL EMPLOYEE WHO HAD RECEIVED THE THE COVER MEMO WAS DATED SOMETIME IN 1988, AND NOTED THAT THE ADL HAD RECEIVED THE LHM FROM "AN OFFICIAL FRIEND" AND THAT IT SHOULD BE TREATED CONFIDENTIALLY. DURING THE COURSE OF THE INVESTIGATION, COPIES OF THE LHM TURNED UP DURING A SEARCH OF THE ADL OFFICE IN SAN FRANCISCO, ALONG WITH A LARGE NUMBER OF CONFIDENTIAL POLICE

^PAGE 4 65X-LA-153918 S E C R E T

REPORTS AND FILES BELONGING TO THE SAN FRANCISCO POLICE DEPARTMENT. AS A RESULT OF THIS SEARCH, FBI SAN FRANCISCO SET FORTH A LEAD TO FBINY TO CONTACT THE ADL IN NEW YORK CITY, TO DETERMINE IF ANY BUREAU DOCUMENTS WERE HELD AT THAT LOCATION. THE HEAD OF INVESTIGATIONS FOR ADL WAS ASKED IF THEY HAD A COPY OF THE NOI DOCUMENT. THEY DID, AND INDICATED THAT THE DOCUMENT THEY HELD ORIGINATED IN LOS ANGELES, AND THAT COPIES WERE MADE AND DISSEMINATED NATIONALLY. THE ADL PROVIDED THEIR COPY OF THE NOI LHM TO FBI SAN FRANCISCO, WHICH PRESENTED THE LHM TO FBI LOS ANGELES. PRIOR TO GIVING THE DOCUMENT TO LOS ANGELES, SAN FRANCISCO SHOWED THE DOCUMENT AND ASKED HIM IF IT WAS THE SAME AS THAT WHICH HE HAD SEEN BACK IN 1989. HE SAID IT WAS SIMILAR IN THAT THE "T" SYMBOLS ON THE DOCUMENT HAD BEEN INKED OUT. HOWEVER THE COPY HE HAD SEEN WAS, HE BELIEVED, AN ORIGINAL COPY IN THAT HE COULD READ THE "T" SYMBOLS THROUGH THE INK BY HOLDING THE DOCUMENT UP TO THE LIGHT.

AS AN FBI ORIGINATED DOCUMENT, DISCLOSURE TO AN

UNAUTHORIZED OUTSIDE ORGANIZATION IS PROHIBITED. LOS ANGELES

TO DETERMINE HOW THE ADL



^PAGE 5 65X-LA-153918 S E C R E T ⟨U⟩		
CAME INTO RECEIPT OF THE LHM AND WHO TRANSMITTED THE DOCUMENT		
то тнем. (Я) ч		
LOS ANGELES HAS LOCATED THROUGH A QUERY O	F CALIFORNIA DMV	
RECORDS SEVERAL INDIVIDUALS NAMED	Los	
ANGELES WILL PRETEXT INTERVIEW	IN AN ATTEMPT	
TO DETERMINE WHO PROVIDED HER WITH THE LHM.		
PER REFERENCE TELCAL WITH SSA ON	MARCH 15, 1993,	
LOS ANGELES OBTAINED VERBAL AUTHORIZATION TO I	NTERVIEW	
SSA FURTHER INDICATED THAT	SHE WILL WRITE	
THE INITIAL 90 DAY LHM FOR THIS INVESTIGATION,	IN AS MUCH AS	
SHE VERBALLY AUTHORIZED	MARCH 12,	
U) 1993. (***)		
INVESTIGATION AT LOS ANGELES CONTINUES.	0 u	
C BY 9993, DECL ON CADR	~	
ВТ		

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Date: Edition:

Title: ADL

Character:

Classification: Submitting Office:

Indexing:

## **ADL Spying**

In response to "Respect Free Speech but Note the Words," Commentary, March 12: David Lehrer's logic and reasoning leave a lot to be desired. His attempt to label. Anti-Defamation League's spying oper-ations as a public service is atrocious. He just added insult to injury to all intelligent free Americans. We are further insulted by his comparison of the ADL's understanding of free speech to that of our Founding Fathers

The ADL's systematic gathering of data on law-abiding American citizens for the purpose of selling it to racist regimes in Israel and South Africa is spying; and as such it is an illegal, act that must be punished. It is a repressive activity that must be stopped immediately.

It is true that extremists of all back-

grounds represent a potential danger to our society: I ought to know: Jewish extremists blew up my brother and the building that housed his office in Santa Ana in 1985. The true danger to our democracy is organizations such as the ADL that conduct illegal activities on a regular basis and seek to inhibit our freedoms and constitutional

Lehrer calls for protection of our privacy from "overzealous and invasive law en-forcement agencies." No. Mr. Lehrer. What we need is protection from organizations like yours. Law enforcement agencies are charged with the duty of protecting us from the "extremists", among us. They are loing the public service you talk about he ADL does the spying.

SAMI M. ODEH Orange.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11-30-94 BY 5012 85561

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# San Francisco **Probes Private** Spy Network

By RICHARD C. PADDOCK

SAN FRANCISCO A private intelligence network with the to an American Jewish group and South Africas is under investigation for illegally tapping into police source and collecting information on the political activities for more than 12,000 people, authorities say.

As part of the investigation Say Francisco authorities say the have confiscated files containing personal information on a wide range of political activists Lethnic vadvocates; writers and other U.S. residents—at fleast 6,000 of them (living in Southern California: Much of the information is allegedly from confidential/government data banks and police agencies

One former San Francisco police intelligence officer, who allegedly funneled police, files to the spy operation, is under investigation on allegations that he sold confidential information, about, hundreds, of people; to the South African, gov. ernment: After he was questioned Please see SPY-A28

"What we're looking at is the violation of the statute that prohibits the sale, use and dispersal of contidential information; San Francisco Dist Atty Ario Smith

Asportion of the information the files appears to have come from the Los Angeles Police Department, Smith said, Los Angele police initially declined to cooper-ate with San Francisco authorities in the investigation and refused to assist in a December search of the Anti-Defamation, League, office, in Los Angeles.

They felt it was a sensitive matter, and they didn't wish to cooperate, said San Francisco Assistant Dist Atty. John Dwyer, who is overseeing the case. "It's the first time I've seen that happen

Top officials of the Los Angele Police Department declined to dis cuss the matter. "It's an ongoing investigation involving another police agency," said Sgt. Mike Will liams, an aide to Chief of Staff Ronald C. Banks

However at least one member of the Lose Angeles Police Commission; which oversees the police administration, said that he be lieves the department should not only assist investigators in San Francisco, but that they should also begin an internal inquiry to find out how the LAPD documents

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> Officials of the Anti-Defamation League in San Francisco and Los Angeles have cooperated with the investigation, allowing police to search their offices without a warrant. They acknowledged that their organization worked with po-lice in collecting information on people believed to be anti-Semilic or involved in hate crimes, but they insisted that they did inot

> violate the law. "It has been a regular practice of the ADL to trade hate crime-relat ed information with police depart ments," said Richard Hirschhaut, executive director of the organiza tion's Northern California office "It has always been our funder standing and our credo in conduct ing our fact finding work that conduct our work from a hig ethical plateau and in conjunction with the law.

In the past, both the Los Angeles and San-Francisco police depart ments have come under criticism for collecting intelligence files on activists, political figures or elected officials who spoke out on contro-versial issues Both departments have been chastised and intelligence-gathering coperations have been ordered curtailed

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A28 FRIDAY: FEBRUARY 26, 1993 x

# SPY: Network Accused of Having Confidential Data

Continued from A1

in November by the FBI, which began the investigation, he fled to the Philippines

Most of the information; howev er,/appears to have been collected on behalf of the Anti-Defamation League; a nationwide organization that is dedicated to fighting anti-Semitism and bigotry: Officials of the organization, as well as its paid undercover operatives, could face charges of gathering intelligence illegally, authorities, said, but spokesmen for the league denied

Lany, wrongdoing

T want to find out what is the basis for the department's reaction not to cooperate ( Police Commis sioner Stanley K. Sheinbaum said Unless I'm given a good explanation why we shouldn't cooperate think we should And of equal concern is how these files got away."

On Thursday, The Times report ed that an internal LAPD investigation found no physical evidence to support allegations that the Organized Crime Intelligence Divi-sion spied on politicians and celeb-rities.

But the San Francisco distrat

attorney's office suspects that ce tain police officers have been working illegally with an intelli-gence network that operates na-tionwide in connection with the

Anti-Defamation League,

[The computer files seized by police include information on 22,000 people from across the Unit.
ed States and data obtained from several police agencies including the Portland. Orc. Police Depart.

ment.
The ADL is running this all over the country, said one source close to the investigation. The ADL set up this great system for collecting information, and South

Africa tapped into it."

Portland police deny any wrong doing and say the information they passed on to the Anti-Defamation.
League was available to the public.
But San Francisco. Police Capt.
John Willett said. "We're looking at whether other police agencies have done, anything inappropriate."

Arab Americans are concerned that some of the files have been passed on to the Israeli govern ment and its intelligence agency messad. One person among the 12,000, an Arab-American activistic living in Chicago, was recently arrested while trayeling in Israel. but authorities said they do not know if there was a connection, Many details of the investigation are still murky because a San

Francisco judge has placed most of the fevidence sunder seal; until, charges, are filled, perhaps next-month; authorities; said, But; the San Francisco Police Commission has ordered the release of individ ual files to those who were alleged

ly spied on the case (revolves around the mysterious figure) of Roy Bullock, who has spent the past 10 years as a free lance investigator and undercover operative.

According to investigators, Bull According to investigators, Bull[ock.:53], worked on behalf of the
Anti-Detamation League as well as
other, groups, and amassed extensive files on larab-Americans, supporters, io. the African National
Congress, Black Muslims, IrishAmericans, skinheads, neo Nazis
the National Lawyers Guldd letwing groups and other activists in. wing groups and other activists in the United States

Authorities said Bullock worked closely with police officers from yarious departments and collected such confidential information as criminal records, intelligence files.

criminal records, intelligence files, driver's license photographs, home addresses and car registrations.

Some of the information could have been helpful in staking out individual homes and conducting surveillance. Other confidential information could have been value able to foreign governments concerned about the political activities. The source of the confidential in could have been value.

"People talk about whether in "People talk about whether in the Computer Age privacy is being, done away, with, but you don't think about the DMV giving your driver's, license, to some police officer who gives it to an organization, that doesn't like you." said Dwyer, the assistant district attor-Dwyer, the assistant unstructured in the provided has to stop. You can't let the government collect all this information and give it to whomever they choose,"

Bullock could not be reached for said he was paid by the Anti-Defamation League through a Los Angeles law firm that acted as an intermediary. Officials of the Anti-Defamation League would not con-firm or deny Bullock's association, with the organization

Among the organizations he all-legedly infiltrated were skinhead and Arab-American groups where he gathered detailed information on members.

In one case, his true identity was discovered by the American Arab Antl Discrimination (Committee when a Jewish guest attended a recent meeting in the Bay Area and recognized him as a member of the Anti-Defamation League.

"Usually well don't screen our members," said Namb Bayda, executive director of the Arab Ameri-

internets: said Nath Hayda, exce-jutive director of the Arab Ameri-can group's Los Angeles; office, "He was very active. He used to go to, events. He never missed a meeting!"

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Most of the 12,000 files seized by Most of the 12,000 files seized by police were obtained in a search of Bullock's San 'Francisco inome, with some confidential files recoyered from "Anti-Defamation, League offices in Los Angeles and Sans Francisco and the shome of the search of the search officer of the search of t then San Francisco Police Officer Tom Gerard.

For years, Bullock worked closely with Gerard, who was once assigned to police intelligence and also spent three years in the early 1980s as an employee of the Centrali Intelligence Agency in Hatin

Art one point, when the San Arranese Police Department, moved to restrict its intelligence gathering functions, Gerard helped arrange for Bullock to work as an informant for the FBI.

The FBI, however, stumbled on The FBI, however, stumbled onto the fact that Bullock also was an
agent of the South African government and began what has become a
two-year investigation into the
case, Among other things, the FBI
tapped Bullock's telephone and recorded conversations with Gerard
in which they discussed intelliging
gence matters.

Authorities allege that Gerard gave confidential Police Depart-ment files to Bullock and sold files. ment files to Bullock and sold files, directly to another, agent of the South African government for as much as \$20,000. Though Bullock may have acted as an agent for South Africa and the ADL, there is no indication of collaboration between other representatives of the tween other representatives of the two parties.

Gerard, who also worked part-time providing security for Philip-pine Afrilines, left, abruptly for the Philippines, which has no extradi-tion treaty with the United States.

tion, treaty with the United States.
He later resigned in a letter to the Police Department.
"The activities of Tom Gerard stepped over the line." San Francisco. Police Capt. Willett said.
"They were illegal. He should not have been doing what he was doing have been doing what he was doing for a private party.

Gerard, contacted in the Philips

pines by the San Francisco Examiner, said he is the target of the biggest witch hunt and wild goose chase l've ever seen."

Times staff writer Richard A. Serrano contributed to this story.

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## Memorandum

# S E CR E T



	To :	SAC, LOS ANGELES (65X-LA-153918) (P) Date 3/16/93	
( <del>I</del>	J) From :	SA (FCI-3) ALL INVOSUATION CONTAINED (U	b6   b7C   b7E
	Subject:	UNSUBS;  UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE ANTI DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU CLASSIFIED INFORMATION; ESP-X; OO: LOS ANGELES  Oo: LOS ANGELES  ALL INVOCATATION HERCIN IS CLASSIFIED  HECCIN IS CLASSIFIED  OTHERWISE  OCHORNICAL INVOCATATION IN PROPERTY OF THE SHOWN  HECCIN IS CLASSIFIED  OTHERWISE  OCHORNICAL INVOCATATION IN PROPERTY OF THE SHOWN  OCHORNICAL IN PROPERTY OF THE SHOWN	2,2
		This entire communication is classified "SECRET". (II)	
	(U) [		
	ADL may had under pre- refresh had question	On 3/15/93, DOB Of Pacific Palisades, CA 90272, DMV license number was interviewed at her residence concerning her of a document titled NATION OF ISLAM (NOI), and how the nave acquired said document. was interviewed etext and shown a copy of the document, in an attempt to her memory. She was not told that the document in was in fact an FBI Letterhead Memorandum (LHM) and the NOI.	
re.	with the received western U local law gathering	indicated that she left the ADL about one and years ago, upon the birth of her second child. While ADL, she was employed as a "fact finder". As such, she information from seven ADL offices located in the Inited States. She also was in contact with numerous enforcement personnel to facilitate her task of information of interest to the ADL concerning right left wing terrorist groups.	
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indicated that among her law enforcement
contacts were former Los Angeles FBI Terrorist Squad Supervisor and another younger male agent, whom she did not
recall a name. She also recalled contacts with Los
Angeles Police Department (LAPD) and Tost Angeles
Angeles Police Department (LAPD) and Light Angeles Sheriff's Department (LAPD), who both worked right wing terrorist
group matters, as well as with a female officer, name not
recalled, who worked middle eastern terrorist group matters. She
also acknowledged contacts with various members of the LAPD Anti-
Terrorism Division (ATD), but could not recall specific
individuals, because of continual turnover among its personnel.
did not recall having seen the specific NOI
document, but did recall having received several documents
concerning the NOI. Being unable to recall the specific document
shown to her, could not provide any information as to
who may have provided the NOI document in question to the ADL. She noted that she got very little information from the FBI,
noting that the FBI takes information but it does not give very
much information in return. She indicated that the exchange of
information with the LAPD and LASD was much better, and that the
LAPD and LASD would exchange information with the ADL on a
recurring basis.
During the interview,asked if the interview
was connected with the recent Los Angeles Times article
concerning a San Francisco Police (SFPD) investigation of the ADI for possessing SFPD files. As a pretext, was told that
she was being interviewed because the document that she was shown
had been found in connection with the World Trade Center Bombing
in New York, and that the FBI was attempting to determine how the
document found its way to a middle eastern terrorist group.
accument found for may to a midale carterin collection group.
could provide no further information
concerning how the ADL received the NOI document.
appeared to be forthright and cooperative in her responses
concerning the document indicated her desire to
assist in this matter, but could not recall any further
nniormation concerning the document. I noted that ADL
information concerning the document noted that ADL Regional Director DAVID LEHRER might be able to provide more specific information concerning the document.
specific information concerning the document.

FD-448 (Rev. 5-23-90)



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# FBI FACSIMILE COVERSHEET

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PRECEDENCE  Immediate  Priority  Routine  Top Secret  Secret  Sender's Initials:  Number of Pages:  Unclassified
To: FBIHQ Date: 3/17/93  Facsimile number: 200 324-4705
Attn: SSX Room 4246 Name Room Telephone No.)  ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEADIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
Subject: UNSUBS UNIDENTELED INDIVIDUALS  [Name of Office)  [1-30-94  Classified by SpirBTJGCON  Classi
AT THE ANTI-PORTEAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) /N.
Passession of Bureau Classifier Bureaus ESP-X; OO: Cos Amories
Special Handling Instructions: Pass To SSA
SECTION CHIEF SECONITY PROGRAMS MANAGEN ROOM 4246 CI-S INTO
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Originator's Facsimile Number: 370 996 3359
Approved

Serial 4

FBI/DOJ

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^PAGE 2 65X-LA-153918 S E X R E T		
DOCUMENT. WAS INTERVIEWED UNDER PRETEXT AND SHOWN A		
COPY OF THE DOCUMENT, IN AN ATTEMPT TO REFRESH HER MEMORY.		
SHE WAS NOT TOLD THAT THE DOCUMENT IN QUESTION WAS IN FACT AN		
FBI LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM (LHM) CONCERNING THE NOI.		
INDICATED THAT SHE LEFT THE ADL ABOUT ONE AND		
ONE HALF YEARS AGO, UPON THE BIRTH OF HER SECOND CHILD. WHILE		
WITH THE ADL, SHE WAS EMPLOYED AS A "FACT FINDER". AS SUCH,		
SHE RECEIVED INFORMATION FROM SEVEN ADL OFFICES LOCATED IN THE		
WESTERN UNITED STATES. SHE ALSO WAS IN CONTACT WITH NUMEROUS		
LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL TO FACILITATE HER TASK OF		
GATHERING INFORMATION OF INTEREST TO THE ADL CONCERNING RIGHT		
WING AND LEFT WING TERRORIST GROUPS.		
INDICATED THAT AMONG HER LAW ENFORCEMENT		
CONTACTS WERE FORMER LOS ANGELES FBI TERRORIST SQUAD		
SUPERVISOR AND ANOTHER YOUNGER MALE AGENT, WHOM SHE		
DID NOT RECALL A NAME. SHE ALSO RECALLED CONTACTS WITH		
LOS ANGELES POLICE DEPARTMENT (LAPD) AND		
LOS ANGELES SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT (LASD), WHO BOTH WORKED RIGHT		
WING TERRORIST GROUP MATTERS, AS WELL AS WITH A FEMALE		
OFFICER, NAME NOT RECALLED, WHO WORKED MIDDLE EASTERN		

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^PAGE 3 65X-LA-153918 S E C R E T

TERRORIST GROUP MATTERS. SHE ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED CONTACTS WITH VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE LAPD ANTI-TERRORISM DIVISION (ATD), BUT COULD NOT RECALL SPECIFIC INDIVIDUALS, BECAUSE OF CONTINUAL TURNOVER AMONG ITS PERSONNEL.

DID NOT RECALL HAVING SEEN THE SPECIFIC NOI
DOCUMENT, BUT DID RECALL HAVING RECEIVED SEVERAL DOCUMENTS
CONCERNING THE NOI. BEING UNABLE TO RECALL THE SPECIFIC
DOCUMENT SHOWN TO HER, COULD NOT PROVIDE ANY
INFORMATION AS TO WHO MAY HAVE PROVIDED THE NOI DOCUMENT IN
QUESTION TO THE ADL. SHE NOTED THAT SHE GOT VERY LITTLE
INFORMATION FROM THE FBI, NOTING THAT THE FBI TAKES
INFORMATION BUT IT DOES NOT GIVE VERY MUCH INFORMATION IN
RETURN. SHE INDICATED THAT THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION WITH
THE LAPD AND LASD WAS MUCH BETTER, AND THAT THE LAPD AND LASD
WOULD EXCHANGE INFORMATION WITH THE ADL ON A RECURRING BASIS.
DURING THE INTERVIEW, ASKED IF THE INTERVIEW
WAS CONNECTED WITH THE RECENT LOS ANGELES TIMES ARTICLE
CONCERNING A SAN FRANCISCO POLICE (SFPD) INVESTIGATION OF THE
ADL FOR POSSESSING SFPD FILES. AS A PRETEXT, WAS
TOLD THAT SHE WAS BEING INTERVIEWED BECAUSE THE DOCUMENT THAT



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SHE WAS SHOWN HAD BEEN FOUND IN CONNECTION WITH THE WORLD

TRADE CENTER BOMBING IN NEW YORK, AND THAT THE FBI WAS

ATTEMPTING TO DETERMINE HOW THE DOCUMENT FOUND ITS WAY TO A

MIDDLE EASTERN TERRORIST GROUP.

COULD PROVIDE NO FURTHER INFORMATION CONCERNING		
HOW THE ADL RECEIVED THE NOI DOCUMENT. APPEARED TO		
BE FORTHRIGHT AND COOPERATIVE IN HER RESPONSES CONCERNING THE		
DOCUMENT. INDICATED HER DESIRE TO ASSIST IN THIS		
MATTER, BUT COULD NOT RECALL ANY FURTHER INFORMATION		
CONCERNING THE DOCUMENT. NOTED THAT ADL REGIONAL		
DIRECTOR DAVID LEHRER MIGHT BE ABLE TO PROVIDE MORE SPECIFIC		
INFORMATION CONCERNING THE DOCUMENT.		
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REASON: 1.4 (c)

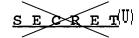
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(S) 12	employees on the Eas	t Coast in connect	ion with the	ь7с
13		riminal and $\mathcal{F}$ CI ca SA now in private		
14		ised that	former empl	oyee
15	of the ADL office in been interviewed by	Los Angeles, relathe the FBI, namely SA	ted that <u>she h</u> as jus (FNU) of the	
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65X-LA-153918 EJA/djr

Angeles Office. She was advised that she was one
of several sought to see which was formerly with
ADL. She was asked if she knew about a Nation of Islam (NOI)
document which has arisen in connection with the World Trade
Center bombing in New York. According to had
handled a NOI document when she worked for the Los Angeles ADL
office, but she did not recall the document nor where it came
from. She did note the names of two officers with LAPD and
Sheriff's Office, and (ph), who were
supposedly on the Terrorism Task Force of FBI and local LA
authorities.
As recounted by ASAC APPEL to ASAC CURRAN, the ADL

As recounted by ASAC APPEL to ASAC CURRAN, the ADL is remaining in contact with ASAC APPEL through their attorneys, ostensibly in an attempt to correct the problems exposed by the \_\_\_\_\_\_\_ case. It has been noted that ADL has not been entirely candid or helpful up until now. However, \_\_\_\_\_\_ indicated that he had done an extensive review of ADL documents and had found none which were of concern to the FBI other than those already provided. He also said that ADL commissioned \_\_\_\_\_\_ to formulate changes in the ADL's information collection function to make sure that all laws and proprieties are maintained.

It should be noted that San Francisco has specifically looked for any evidence of classified information passing from the FBI to the ADL or other unauthorized recipients. Until now, no such evidence has been found.

SECRET (U

#### Memorandum

DATE: 03-28-2013

CLASSIFIED BY NSICG/C98W57B22

REASON: 1.4 (c)

DECLASSIFY ON: 03-28-2038

### SECRET



To	:	SAC,	LOS	ANGELES*	(65X-LA-153918)	(P)	Date	3/22/93

From : TIS

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Subject:

UNSUBS, UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE ANTI-DEFAMATION

LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU CLASSIFIED

INFORMATION

ESP - X

00: LA

Classition by Spid-bycom Declassity on: Oada

This communication is classified "SECRET" in its entirety.

On 3/4/93, SA approached author with an unidentified, undated and unmarked document relating to the Nation of Islam (NOI), which was found outside of the FBI. SA tasked author to find out 1), if the document was originated by the FBI and 2), if so, where it came from. The document mentioned is a 34 page summary of NOI activity which includes a recommendation that a full domestic investigation be opened on the NOI. A notable feature of this summary is the fact that all source symbols had been blackened over. Also included were two pages of a summary of activities relating to the African National Congress (ANC). The two pages relating to the ANC appeared unrelated to the rest of the NOI document. An extensive search of FOIMS and the Terrorist Information System (TIS) ensued with the following results:

A FOIMS check of Los Angeles investigated NOI related cases and a subsequent review of pertinent files was negative regarding the unidentified document. A TIS search was then conducted of every name listed in the document in order to determine if a pattern existed linking the names in the document to any possible files bureau-wide. Two files, 199D-IP-538 and 100A-CG-57011, were found to be linked to almost every name listed in the unidentified document.

MAD/mad (2)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE CHOSE OTHERWISE

SECRET (U)

### SECRET

On 3/4/93, author placed a telephone call to the FBI
Indianapolis TIS analyst and asked that

(5) be reviewed to see if a copy of the unidentified document in the possession of FBI Los Angeles cou

be reviewed to see if a copy of the unidentified document in the possession of FBI Los Angeles could be found in the Indianapolis file. A unique social security number located in the unidentified document was traced to a specific serial in 199D-IP-538 and this information was passed to the Indianapolis analyst. Using the above information, FBI Indianapolis discovered a 37 page summary of NOI activity in 199D-IP-538 which appeared to be identical to the document in the possession of Los Angeles. Numerous paragraphs listed in the Indianapolis serial matched the Los Angeles document verbatim.

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The Indianapolis serial included a six page Airtel cover dated 6/27/86 sent from Chicago file 199G-CG-1076 with courtesy copies listed as being forward to files 199G-CG-877 and 199G-CG-1488 as well as 5 copies to the Bureau and two each to Alexandria, Atlanta, Cleveland, Detroit, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, New York and Philadelphia. This Airtel was classified SECRET in its entirety. Attached to the Airtel was the 37 page compendium similar in structure to the document in the possession of FBI Los Angeles. Like the Los Angeles document, this compendium (dated 2/24/86) was not classified. The Indianapolis title sheet, printed on a standard FBI letterhead possessed no markings other than an FBI disclaimer regarding the fact that its contents contained neither the recommendations nor conclusions of The source symbols in the Indianapolis document were the FBI. not blackened over.

A discrepancy noted by SA found that the date listed on the Indianapolis document was inconsistent with that of an activity mentioned on the contents page of the Los Angeles held document. It then became apparent that the Indianapolis document was not an exact copy of the document possessed by Los Angeles, but rather the predecessor to a follow-up report authored with the aid of that serial. The document in the possession of Los Angeles is in fact an updated version of the Chicago generated summary located in the Indianapolis file.

[Indianapolis then reviewed 199D-IP-538 for a copy of the updated version with negative results.]

On 3/4/93, FBI Chicago was called with a request to review 199G-CG-1076 for the original document sent to FBI Indianapolis as well as its successor report matching the copy

S E C R E T



held by Los Angeles. A quick review of the file by FBI Chicago met with negative results. Later in the afternoon of 3/4/93 a meeting was held between Los Angeles ASAC Edward J. Curran, SA and author to discuss the progress made in resolving the matter of the document obtained by FBI Los Angeles. It was decided, among other things, that FBI Indianapolis be requested to facsimile a copy of their document to Los Angeles for review.

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On 3/5/93, author telephoned the TIS analyst at FBI Indianapolis and requested that the 02/24/86 dated document and its attached 6/27/86 airtel be sent via secure facsimile to the FBI Los Angeles office. On that date, FBI Los Angeles received a facsimile copy of the Airtel and summary document. A review of that document indicates that it is FBI generated and is the document from which the one discovered outside of the FBI was originally derived and subsequently modified. The format and contents are identical, with the exception of the updated information.

After discovering that two copies of the document which were sent to 199D-IP-538 were also sent to Los Angeles, a search of all Los Angeles files relating to Louis Farrakhan ensued.

Among those files searched was 100A-LA-87495, code name "FARCON", which is currently being reviewed by the Los Angeles legal unit for a Freedom Of Information Act (FOIA) matter. (Current FOIA action being taken by the Los Angeles legal unit concerning the NOI and Louis Farrakhan is the result of inquiries made by 190-LA-122258, and 190-LA-143048.) The "FARCON" file contained both copies of the first generation NOI summary document also located in 199D-IP-538 dated 2/24/86 as serial 5) which were sent to Los Angeles from Chicago.

Two copies of the second generation document (the one identical to the document located outside the FBI) dated 1/14/88 as serial 57 were also found in "FARCON". It should be noted that unlike the copy found outside of the FBI, these serials did not have the source symbols blackened over. In addition to these two summary documents, a subsequent or third generation of the document dated 8/1/88 as serial 90 was also found in the "FARCON" file.

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In conclusion, it is apparent that the NOI document located outside of the FBI is indeed an FBI originated work which was authored by the Chicago Division. Both copies of the document sent to the Los Angeles Division are currently in the "FARCON" file, and unlike the copy found outside the FBI, the source symbols are not blackened over. No information relating to the location of the original ANC related document could be found during an Intelligence Information System (IIS) or TIS search.

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It is opined that the original copies of the discovered document might be found in either file 199G-CG-1076, 199G-CG-877, 199G-CG-1488 for 100A-CG-57011. Further more it is opined that there is a possibility that this document may have been released to individuals or groups under the FOIA or that it was released, officially or otherwise, to agencies outside of the FBI.

### Memorandum

(Rev. 1/92)

# SECRET



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T	
To : SAC, LOS ANGELES	Date 3/24/93
(II) Pros : SA Classified to Declassify A	SPIZBIDGUN Squad FC1-3
Subject STATISTICAL ACCOMPLISHMENT  Of. case  UNIVENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE	ALL INFORMATION CONTACTOR IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WIXER SHOWN
LEAGUE (APL) IN POSSESSION OF B. ESP-X LA FILE 65X-LA-153912	BUTILE
This communication is cla-	ssified "SECRET" in its
documented to a specific serial in	hments being claimed must be a substantive case file. When
claiming a statistical accomplishme	nt complete the pottom portion, alpha character and <u>serial</u>
for state claimed in Part I, and II	of this memorandum will be
serialized in the substantive case directed to file 66F-8298, maintain	file, a second copy will be
PART I	(i) DEFECTION INDUCED
(a) IO DESIGNATED	(1) DEFECTION INDUCED
(b) AGENT DESIGNATED	AAA AMMINDAY TEAMTON
	(j) NEUTRALIZATION
(c) POSITIVE INTELLIGENCE REPORTED	(k) CONVICTION
(d) VERIFICATION OF IO ACTIVITY	(k) CONVICTION (1) ARREST
	(k) CONVICTION
(d) VERIFICATION OF IO ACTIVITY	(k) CONVICTION (1) ARREST
(d) VERIFICATION OF IO ACTIVITY  (e) VERIFICATION OF AGENT ACTIVITY	(k) CONVICTION  (1) ARREST  (m) PNG TYPE ACTION
(d) VERIFICATION OF IO ACTIVITY  (e) VERIFICATION OF AGENT ACTIVITY  (f) TARGET IDENTIFIED	(k) CONVICTION  (1) ARREST  (m) PNG TYPE ACTION  (n) ECONOMIC LOSS PREVENTED
(d) VERIFICATION OF IO ACTIVITY  (e) VERIFICATION OF AGENT ACTIVITY  (f) TARGET IDENTIFIED  (g) TECHNIQUE IDENTIFIED	(k) CONVICTION  (1) ARREST  (m) PNG TYPE ACTION  (n) ECONOMIC LOSS PREVENTED
(d) VERIFICATION OF IO ACTIVITY  (e) VERIFICATION OF AGENT ACTIVITY  (f) TARGET IDENTIFIED  (g) TECHNIQUE IDENTIFIED  (h) TRADE CRAFT OBTAINED  2 - Los Angeles	(k) CONVICTION  (1) ARREST  (m) PNG TYPE ACTION  (n) ECONOMIC LOSS PREVENTED





	PART II		
(1) APPROACHES FOR RI		(5) DEFECTORS	
(6) JOINT OPS (INITIA	TED OR MAINTAINED)		
(8)		65X-LA-15	3918 Sevial A
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MAR 24 6 35 PH '93 MRI 01750 0016 RR FBILA FBISF DE RUCNFB #0146 0840152 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS VICLASSIFIED ZNY SSSSS EXCEPT WILEYE SHOWN OTHERWISE R 242116Z MAR 93 FM DIRECTOR FBI TO FBI LOS ANGELES (65X-LA-153918) (P)/ROUTINE/ FBI SAN FRANCISCO/ROUTINE/ BT Classined by Declassify of the DADR CITE: //0514// PASS: FBI LOS ANGELES AND SA FBI SAN FRANCISCO.

UNSUBS; UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU CLASSIFIED INFORMATION; ESP-X; 00: LA.

THIS COMMUNICATION IS CLASSIFIED SESPET AN ITS ENTIRETY.

(U)

RE LOS ANGELES TELETYPE TO THE BUREAU, DATED MARCH 16, 1993.

 $\{ \{ \} \}$ 

THIS COMMUNICATION CONFIRMS THAT

DECLASSIFY ON:

TELETYPE

1-FILE COPY

1-AGENT COPY

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED

PAGE TWO DE RUCNFB 0146 S E R E T

AUTHORIZED FOR THIS MATTER IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ATTORNEY

GENERAL GUIDELINES (AGG) FOR FBI FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION

AND FOREIGN COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INVESTIGATIONS, SECTION III C.

LOS ANGELES SHOULD ENSURE THAT THE ANNUAL LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM

(LHM) IS SUBMITTED TO FBIHQ IN A TIMELY MANNER, IN ACCORDANCE

WITH SECTION IX C. OF THE AGG. FBIHQ WILL PREPARE THE REQUIRED

90-DAY LHM FOR SUBMISSION TO THE OFFICE OF INTELLIGENCE POLICY

(U) AND REVIEW.

C BY G 3, DECL OADR.

BT

#0146



DATE: 03-27-2013

CLASSIFIED BY NSICG/C98W57B22

REASON: 1.4 (c, d)

•			FBI DECLASSIFY ON: 03-27-2038
		TRANSMIT VIA:	PRECEDENCE: CLASSIFICATION:    Immediate
		☐ Facsimile	☐ Priority ☐ SECRET ☐ Routine ☐ CONFIDENTIAL
		X AIRTEL	Routine CONFIDENTIAL UNCLAS E F T O
		INFORMATION CON	Date 3/15/93
	ALL	INFORMATION OF	PIED Date 3/13/33
	HZI	EPT WIERE SHOW	ATTA
	TO.	if By ISE	
	2		CI-2E)  DIRECTOR, FBI (ATTN: SSA  b1 b3
	3	FROM :	SAC, SAN FRANCISCO $(5)$ $(P)$ $(P)$ $(P)$
(S)	4	SUBJECT :	
1=1	7		$\mathcal{W}_{\mathcal{S}}$
	5	ነ 	00: SAN FRANCISCO Classified by Spa BIOGOM
	6		Declassify on OADR
	7		This entire communication is classified "Secret. "
	8	<del>(S)</del>	<b>(4)</b>
	9	<b>L</b>	Re SF teletype dated 2/27/93 (no copy to Los
		Angeles).	Also re 3/12/93 telephone call from SA /
	10	Francisco I	, migoros paradam, es es
	11		ļ .
	12	regarding o	Enclosed for the Bureau are two copies of an FD-302 one dated 3/3/93.
	13	÷	Enclosed for Los Angeles are one copy each of the
	14	following o	
	15	1 /0 5 /00	1) FD-302 regarding one IRWIN J. SUALL, dated
	16	1/26/93.	
		0 (0 (00	2) FD-302 regarding dated
	17	3/3/93.	
	18	2 - Bureau	(Enc. 2)
` •	19	2 - Los Ang	geles (Enc. 3) Classified By: G-3
	20	2 - San Fra JAM/lal	ncisco Declassity on: OADR
	21	(6)	

Transmitted -Approved: (Time) (Number) /(**U**) Serial 10



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3) SF LHM regarding the subject of this matter, dated 2/17/93.

	As Los Ar	ngeles :	is aware, the enclosed FD-302
regarding			represents the results of an
interview	conducted	in Los	Angeles by San Francisco SA's
	and		on 3/3/93.

Referenced teletype responded to a request for information from the Bureau concerning whether there had been any compromise of FBI information detected by San Francisco's investigation. San Francisco responded that among items which have been determined to have been in the possession of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), and which may have been passed to the South African National Intelligence Service by the subject of this matter, was a multi-page report concerning the Nation of Islam (NOI). The version of that report found to have been in the possession of the ADL contained numerous blacked-out portions, was missing its cover page, and did not otherwise clearly indicate the author or originating agency. Nevertheless, San Francisco indicated that due to the nature and style of the document, San Francisco believed it could have been produced by the FBI.

In his interview on 3/3/93, former ADL employee
advised he is familiar with the NOT document
in question, and that it is his belief it is an FBI document.
stated he, too, had never seen the cover page of the
document, however, when he first saw the document at the Los
Angeles ADL office, sometime after March, 1989, it was
attached to a cover memo from then-ADL employee
This cover memo indicated the ADL had received the
NOI document from an "official friend." identified
that term as ADL parlance for a law enforcement source.
further advised that the version of the NOI document
he first saw had the blacked-out portions, however, it was not
a photocopied version; i.e. the blacked-out portions had been
blacked-out with ink. indicated he was thus able to
hold the document up to a light and read through the ink. He
saw references to FBI sources in some of the blacked-out
areas. This caused him to believe the NOI document was
produced by the FBI.

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#### SECRET (II)

In referenced telephone call, San Francisco was advised that Los Angeles had located a copy of the questioned NOI document in its files. Los Angeles indicated its version was complete, did not have any portions blacked-out, and was definately an FBI document. San Francisco was advised that the version of the NOI document which was in the possession of the ADL appears to be identical to the version in Los Angeles' files, with the exception of the missing cover page and the blacked-out portions. San Francisco was further advised it appeared the document was originally prepared by the Chicago Division.

The above is provided so that the Bureau may be aware, given San Francisco's assessment as contained in referenced teletype, of the determination that the NOI document in question is definately a product of the FBI. Investigation remains to be conducted to determine exactly how the document came to be in the possession of the ADL.

The Bureau's attention is also directed to portions of the enclosed FD-302 in which discusses relations between the Los Angeles ADL office and the Israeli Government. In referenced teletype, San Francisco noted that the popular perception among persons interested in captioned matter is that information collection by the ADL is equivalent to information collection by Israeli Intelligence. In referenced teletype San Francisco indicated that, whether or not this is true, San Francisco had not developed any information to support this view.

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In his 3/3/93 interview \_\_\_\_\_\_ provided confirmation of direct, regular contacts between employees of the ADL and Israeli officials. \_\_\_\_\_\_ indicated that such officials, from the local Israeli Consulate, periodically visited the Los Angeles ADL office to brief ADL employees on current events in Israel. \_\_\_\_\_ also said the ADL was concerned about public opinion regarding relations between Israel and South Africa, and that some of the ADL's activities, such as the monitoring of antiapartheid activities in the United States, were at least in part driven by this concern.

also indicated there is no prohibition against ADL employees sharing information with the Israeli Government concerning any data the ADL may collect. This is particularly noteworthy given recent media reporting and public outcry in the

secret (U)

## SECRET (II)

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united States <u>over the arrest in israel of two Arab-Americans</u>
from Chicago, name
was found in the many documents seized from the subject of this
matter, fueling public belief that the ADL provides the Israeli
Government with information which is then used against U.S.
persons. stated he had himself once provided directly to
the Israeli Government information concerning a person who was
traveling from the U.S. to Israel. identified that
person as stated that in 1992 he learned
that whom understood to be a Los Angeles resident
and member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of
Palestine, would be traveling from San Francisco to Haifa,
Israel. believed this information would be of interest
to the Israeli Government, so telephoned the Los Angeles
Israeli Consulate to advise them of travel.
The Israeli Consulate was very interested, going so far as to
call back to go over his information again.
<u> </u>
The above was the only example said he was
aware of concerning ADL information being directly provided to
the Israeli Government. Given, however, the sensitivity of that
issue among certain members of Congress and the public, San
Francisco believes it should be brought to the Bureau's
attention.

#### **LEAD**

#### LOS ANGELES DIVISION

Los Angeles is requested to forward to San Francisco a "clean" copy of the above NOI document, as it appears in Los Angeles' files, along with any pertinent information concerning that document's origin and dissemination.

secret (II)

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Suspect in

# cop spy case tells his story

Tom Gerard says he didn't sell S.F. police secrets, calls FBI probe a big 'witch hunt'

By Phil Bronstein EXAMINER EXECUTIVE EDITOR \*
COPYRIGHT © 1993, THE HEARST CORPORATION

Tom Gerard, the former San Francisco police officer and CIA agent accused of selling law enforcement secrets to foreign powers, says he's the target of "the biggest witch hunt and wild goose chase I've ever seen."

The investigation originated with the FBI and now involves "friends and guys I've worked with (in the SFPD) for 25 years," Gerard said in an exclusive, sometimes tearful, interview with The Examiner from his hideaway in the Philippines.

"The sons of bitches are trying to put me in prison for the rest of my life," he said. "That's why I decided to leave the country. As long as I sit here, they can't get

Gerard says he believes that the FBI's loss of a file on the Black Muslim organization may be motivating the case against him, but talking 10 or 15 years." that he is innocent of any crime involving the sale of information.

Telephone wiretaps may show him talking about sharing police data with informants, investigators or even foreign consulates, Gerard vestigating Gerard but declined to admits. Still, he says, he has only done what he thought appropriate for a police officer.

Other factors have forced him pines, following his abrupt retireinto the unaccustomed role as chief suspect — and out of the country, he says.

"What they're (the FBI) thinking is they've got someone inside their own organization" giving out files, charged Gerard, who suddenly fled to the Philippines and turned in his retirement papers at age 50 after being questioned by the FBI.

"They really took me on too hard in the beginning," the obviously agitated ex-officer said. "First thing they said right out of their mouth is you better be prepared for a lifestyle change unless you cooperate with us, and we're

> all information contained HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OPPLETISE ....

1-22-93 Date: Edition: Home-S.F. Examiner A-1 San Francisco, Ca. (S)Character: Classification: Submitting Office:

DATE: 03-27-2013

REASON: 1.4 (c)

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

CLASSIFIED BY MSICG/C98W57B22

DECLASSIFY ON: 03-27-2038

"I'm absolutely terrified," Gerard said. "These guys have decided for whatever reason that I'm the bad guy, the bogey man."

The FBL has confirmed it is incomment on the case.

Gerard fled to Palawan, a remote island in the central PhilipClassified in Spia B 1060

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ment in November from the San Francisco Police Department. Heleft his wife and child at the family's Sausalito houseboat. There is no extradition treaty between the United States and the Philippines.

The Massachusetts-born Gerard had served in the department for almost a quarter century — with a three-year hiatus to serve as a contract CIA employee in Central America.

The Examiner reported last Friday that the FBI and San Francisco authorities believed Gerard had made thousands of dollars selling secret law enforcement information to foreign agents.

Israel and South Africa have been mentioned by knowledgeable sources as possible recipients of that information.

As an inspector in the now-defunct SFPD intelligence unit, Gerard investigated and maintained files on Arab American organizations, right-wing groups and other political activists. As part of that process, Gerard says, he established ongoing contact with groups and individuals who also gathered such information.

The investigation has raised questions about intelligence-gathering both by law enforcement agencies and private organizations. Details of the case — even just Gerard's version of events — provide a rare glimpse into the shrouded and interlocking world of informants, cops, foreign governments, the watched and the watchers.

#### Cop and informant

A key to the case, Gerard believes, is a shadowy, self-styled private investigator named Roy Bullock, whom he introduced to the FBI. Gerard says Bullock was an informant and friend with whom he shared law enforcement information.

In 1985, when Gerard rejoined the SFPD after his CIA employment and moved into the intelligence unit, he met Bullock during a visit to the local offices of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, he says.

Bullock was a paid investigator for the ADL, says Gerard, and the two men shared a professional interest in gathering intelligence on right-wing extremists and Arab American groups, particularly those they thought had ties to Mideast Palestinian organizations the U.S. government had characterized as "terrorist."

"We sat there one morning with everyone in the (ADL) office, shook hands and made friends," Gerard said.

Bullock — called "Cal" by Gerard, a short version of his nickname "Calzone" — proved his value soon after in the case of Coy Ray Phelps, a deranged neo-Nazi suspected of bombing synagogues and black studies classrooms.

Phelps was caught, Gerard said, because of "a file that came from Cal. That's how we got the SOB (Phelps). Not from any police or FBI work but from Cal. The guy is really dynamite."

Gerard began cooperating with Bullock and exchanging information because "the guy had no (criminal) record. It's like we're talking to someone in the neighborhood community watch organization." The information, Gerard said he assumed, was for the ADL files.

Bullock declined to comment.

When local authorities searched Gerard's houseboat Dec. 10, and served a search warrant for Bullock's residence, they also obtained warrants for the San Francisco and Los Angeles offices of the ADL. looking for law enforcement material. Some police data was found at the ADL, according to sources familiar with the case. But an attorney for the ADL said the organiza-! tion had been told that it was not a target or subject of the investigation. He also said the ADL had submitted voluntarily to the search and that the warrants had not been! served. He declined to say if Bullock was an ADL informant.

The South African connection

Gerard's explanation of any possible South African connection involves a 1986 seminar in Las Vegas that Bullock uncovered.

"This looked like a legitimate investment seminar," Gerard said.

"The guest speaker was going to be the South African consul general (in Los Angeles). But we found out the people behind it were a bunch of right-wingers. Cal tells me. I in turn get hold of the people at the consulate and warn them (that) this would probably be an embarrassment to the consul general if he was to appear. That's it."

Gerard says all he received for what he calls "a (police) dignitary protection function" was a book of color photos from South Africa and a consular thank-you noté.

But Gerard concedes that he used an SFPD undercover name and mailbox to communicate with the South Africans.

"We just couldn't do it up front and legally because the Board of Supervisors said we couldn't have any contact with the South Africans," he said.

The FBI, which monitors foreign consulates, clearly knew about the contact, Gerard says. On a visit to the San Francisco FBI offices a few years later, agents there kidded him about his "funny (undercover) name making it on the National Security Index."

After the current investigation began and before he left the country, Gerard says, he spoke with Bullock. "Cal" had apparently maintained contacts with the South Africans, according to Gerard.

"Cal told me he had told the FBI guys that he'd met with the South Africans a year ago and offered to identify photographs for them," possibly of Black Muslim activists or right-wing "skinheads," Gerard said.

Bullock "is a private civilian," Gerard said. "He can meet with anyone he wants."

Gerard also says Bullock had



checks on three names, two of counts? I have one bank account, them skinheads and the third a (in the Philippines) with \$1,000 in possible Black Muslim. All three, it. I don't have two pennies to rub according to Gerard, were de- together." scribed by Bullock as possibly posing threats. At least in one case, the show that Gerard's impounded Los Angeles ADL office was a po- home computer equipment was intential target, Gerard says.

rard says, he's heard that an FBL Lassart, has only been promised file on Black Muslims may have payment for one hour of consultabeen sold to South Africans.

Gerard believes the telephone lice Officer's Association wiretap information obtained by the FBI may include his own conversations with Bullock about giving "Cal" the data on the Black Muslim and/or the skinheads.

"There's nothing really sinister about talking to an informant about information like that." Gerard said. "I admitted from day one that I did that. But they've got me on a wire talking like that."

The FBI Gerard speculates, was "ballistic" about losing a file from their offices and assumed the: SFPD intelligence specialist was havlovai.

"I could go to the FBI office and talk to people there on occasion," he said. "The logical assumption would be that somehow the report came from me because I have that access. That's what they're ballistic about. But it never happened. I just never did that."

#### A visit from the feds

the Hall of Justice late last year. The ex-CIA agent and cop did not force) react well to what he says were threats of jail.

ning," he said. "Things didn't go was Masada." very far. I said, 'I've got nothing to say.'"

what I did in the CIA," he said. "I ing, "they hopped in a car, code 3, told them, 'If you've got a big inter- and went to interview this poor nal investigation going on, you can guy," Gerard said. just pick up the phone and talk to the CIA. Don't ask me, ask them.'" got me dirty doing something with

were interviewing his friends and "I kept saying no. I've run this colleagues. "They wanted to know things like my foreign bank accounts What foreign bank ac-

Search warrant documents expensive, and his attorney, former Through his own contacts, Ge-local and federal prosecutor James tion — that to come from the Po-

> sources familiar with the case told The Examiner.

> The FBI also "asked about my mistresses," Gerard said. "What mistresses? They wanted to know about gun-running on Philippines Airlines. What gun-running? I worked for Philippine Airlines as a security guy."

For years, Gerard supplemented his SFPD salary with moonlighting stints providing security to Philippine Airlines at San Francisco International Airport. Through that job, he met Philippine officials and took an annual vacation in the Philippines.

The investigation reached a low paint, according to Gerard, when agents asked his friends about an ADL-sponsored trip to Israel he went on last year.

"My friend said that when I went to Israel," he said, "I was really in touch with Masada (an ancient fortress in Israel where The case took a sharp turn Jewish zealots committed mass when FBI agents visited Gerard at suicide in 72 A.D. rather than be captured by a much larger Roman

"(The agents said) 'Oh! Mossad! He met with Israeli intelligence? "It got very nasty in the begin- My friend tried to tell them, no, it

Hearing about a South African immigrant's Fresno ranch, where The agents "wanted to know Gerard and friends would go hunt-

The FBL kept saying they've Gerard also knew that agents the South Africans," Gerard said.

thing through my mind 100 times, trying to think who did I meet with, who did I talk to. I'm liable to have met with somebody and the guy could have been a South African and I didn't know it. But contrary to what they say, there's no money involved in this."

The search warrant affidavit, which must state details of the case against Gerard, was sealed by court order.

#### Introducing Bullock to FBI

There are numerous ironies in this case, Gerard says, other than just a cop on the lam from the law.

When the SFPD intelligence unit closed down, Gerard says, he took Bullock to the local FBL office. "We sat down, I turned his file over to them, I introduced them, I told (the FBI) the things we were working on, the things we had going and so forth," he said. "And they started using (Bullock) and they were paying him."

When Bullock called Gerard for assistance with information after, that, "I would gladly assist him."

After all, Gerard said, "I took the informant (Bullock) to them and turned the informant over to them."

The FBI agent Gerard says he dealt with refused to comment.

Gerard says he believes the FBI was unable to get enough evidence against him to justify a search warrant from a federal judge, so the case was turned over to the San Francisco district attorney's office.

"They didn't have enough to serve a warrant on my house, so they put the guys I worked with and my friends for 25 years up to doing it," Gerard said.

The warrant was served and the search done by San Francisco police and district attorney's investigators.

"The FBI sold the locals a bill off] goods," Gerard contended. "(They told) the chief of police that Tom Gerard is John Dillinger."

Gerard speculates that the investigation may also be fueled by historic friction between the FBI and CIA, or even a heated argu-

ment several years ago between an FBI official and an executive of the ADL's national office.

But whether it is evidence or enmity, Gerard says, he's convinced the FBI has decided to "barbecue" him.

In conversations with friends over the years, Gerard has spoken of retiring in the Philippines. His frequent hosts on his annual vacations include some of the country's more powerful politicians.

But the life of a fugitive is not what he had in mind.

"It was the hardest couple of weeks here before Christmas, being here by myself," Gerard said from the Philippines, his voice breaking. "My life, my family, everything is just hanging in the balance here."



Tom Gerard, former S.F. cop and CIA agent, fled to the Philippines.

## CAST OF CHARACTERS

#### **Tom Gerard**



A well-regarded policeman, he spent three years as a CIA bomb expert in Central America, then returned to the San Francisco Police Department and was assigned to the intelligence unit. Gerard, 50, retired and left the country in November after being targeted for investigation by the FBI.

#### **Roy Bullock**

A 58-year old San Francisco art dealer, he also worked as a paid undercover informant for the FBI and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, according to Gerard.

#### **Anti-Defamation League**



Founded 80 years ago to fight anti-Semitism, the arm of B'nai B'rith has investigated hate groups from neo-Nazi skinheads to the Ku Klux Klan. Sources said the group had paid Roy Bullock to investigate anti-Semitic groups.

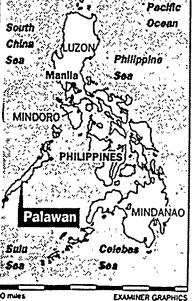
#### San Francisco police intelligence unit

Formed to work with foreign consulates and to investigate complex crimes, was a lightning rod for criticism from civil libertarians, who said it violated civil rights laws by targeting groups that protested but committed no crimes. The unit was ordered disbanded in 1991 by then-Chief Frank Jordan.

#### Federal Bureau of Investigation



The top U.S. law enforcement agency is responsible for investigating all federal crimes, including espionage. Gerard said the FBI had swapped information with him and used Bullock as an informant. The bureau is now investigating the pair.





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FOR INFORMATION OF THE BUREAU, THE FOLLOWING WAS RECEIVED

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MAR 3 1 1993

FBI — LOS ANGELES

BY SAN FRANCISCO, FROM INSPECTOR SAN FRANCISCO
POLICE DEPARTMENT (SFPD), ON MARCH 29, 1993.
SFPD HAS RECEIVED INFORMATION FROM A RELIABLE SOURCE THAT
TWO PERSONS, DESCRIBED AS "ISRAELI GENERALS," ARE IN, OR ARE
ABOUT TO TRAVEL TO, WASHINGTON, D.C., IN REGARD TO CAPTIONED
MATTERS. THE PURPOSE OF THEIR TRAVEL IS TO TRY TO VISIT THE
ATTORNEY GENERAL, TO PRESS FOR AN END TO THE FBI'S
INVESTIGATIONS CONCERNING AND
ACCORDING TO THE SEPD, THE FBI'S INVESTIGATIONS OF THESE
MATTERS ARE CAUSING A GREAT DEAL OF INTERFERENCE IN THE U.S.
ACTIVITIES OF THE ANTI-DEFAHATION LEAGUE OF B'NAT B'RITH
(ADL), AND SO ISRAEL IS SEEKING TO INTERCEDE ON THE ADL'S
BEHALF.
SEPD DESCRIBED THE TWO ISRAELI GENERALS AS (FNU)
AND (FNU) GENERAL IS DESCRIBED AS
AT THE ISRAELT CONSULATE IN LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA.
BOTH ARE DESCRIBED AS BEING CURRENTLY ASSOCIATED WITH A JOINT
U.SISRAELI EFFORT CALLED B.I.R.D., FOR BILATERAL ISRAELI
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT. SAN FRANCISCO INDICES AND TIS
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SAN FRANCISCO VIEWS THE ABOVE INFORMATION-AS FURTHER

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THE BUREAU IS REQUESTED TO KEEP SAN FRANCISCO APPRISED OF DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING THE ABOVE.

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AT LOS ANGELES:

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Date of transcription	3/8/93
On March 2, 1993 Inspector  Police Department (SFPD), was contacted at his place of employment, 850 Bryant Street, San Francisco, California writer. The writer's name and official identity are known inspector  Inspector  provided to the writer a convert audio tape recording of an interview of Inspector  and SFPD Inspector  January 28, 1993. Also present during that interview was attorney  attorney  A transcript of the recording, prepared by the writer, is attached.	of an which
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE (2-1-94 BYSA)	A
Investigation on 3/2/93 at San Francisco, Californiæile # 26	4B-SF-100978
by SADate dictated 3/	3/93

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency;

Serial 13

it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

	The following , which was	is a tran	script of an l on January 2	18, 1993 by	
		and Police Der		of the San nresent was	
attorney			Lebresemering		

Okay, the	e date is $1/28/9$	3. The cime is	2 TT. TO G.M.
Right no	w we're in Orang	e, California	at the law,
law offic	ces of	Uh. pre	sent is Mr.
	and his client		I am Sergeant
	from the San Fr	ancisco Police	Department,
and with	me is Sergeant		als <del>o of the</del>
San Fran	cisco Police Dep	artment. Uh,	Mr. has
gracious	ly, uh, consente ave assured Mr.	<u>ed to an</u> interv that h	iew of him, e is not the focus and any statement
be maked	uh which is b	eing tape reco	rded, uh, will not
be used the San District provided	against you in a Francisco Police Attorney's Offi to Mr.	nny criminal property of the contract of the c	oceeding brought by the San Francisco this tape will be review, uh, after.
Anything	I left out ther	re:	

Ah, no.

Okay.

Go right ahead.

All right. what I'd like to, uh, I think you pretty much have a sense of, uh, by reading the newspaper, what this, uh, investigation is focusing on, and I'd like to ask you some questions about your relationship with the ADL and with and, uh, some offshoots of, of, those things, if it's all right. Uh, first of all I'd like to talk about the, uh, Anti-Defamation League. When did you first start working for them?

I started working for the Anti-Defamation League in March of 1989. The end of March.

And when....

Around the twenty-fifth, or something.

When did you finish with them?

October 9, 1992.

And what was your, uh, job in those, uh, three, three and a half years, or so?

My position was called Fact Finding Librarian. Uh, my job was basically to, uh, maintain the file room, and to monitor the, the activities of extremist groups, on the West Coast.

Particularly in Southern California or the whole West Coast?

Particularly in Southern California, although the Los Angeles office is kind of like the hub for the West Coast, uh, we get copies of all the memos from Denver, Phoenix, San Francisco, Seattle, but most particularly, Southern California.

Okay. By "monitor extremist groups," what did that entail?

That entailed, uh, we had, um, a private mail drop, uh, we received, uh, uh, literature of a lot of the extremist groups. Uh, on occasion, going to meetings, um...

Is that an undercover-type capacity?

Yeah. Um, monitoring the various, uh, "hate lines," is it, of groups. That sort of thing.

Now this was your, part of your function for the entire three and a half years?

Yes.

Okay. Did anybody else in your office assist you in this function?

Well, I, uh, my supervisor, my	first supervisor was	
the predecessor of	Then	
but, basically I was	on my own. Uh, it, I, I	
did the job on my own. Uh, on	occasion, you know, they	
would tell me, uh, cover such-	and-such a meeting, uh	

Who, who's "they?"

Uh,

Okay, um....

On occasion DAVID LEHRER, but he really wasn't that much

ь6 ь7с into it.

Okay, so it was...

Uh...

she's an attorney?

Yeah. She's a....

For the ADL?

Yes. Her position's called Western States Counsel.

Okay.

Uh, but pretty much I, I was on my own as, you know, as long as I maintained, uh, the files, and kept them up to date, and filed the, the memos and articles and other things, uh....

Okay. By files you mean that a, in the, pretty much the center of the office in that room that had all the file cabinets in it?

Yeah.

With, uh, news articles, and...

Yeah.

...reports and things?

A small, impressive office.

And they're under date, and subjects and, and areas, is that correct?

Yes.

Okay. And it was your job to maintain those files?

Yes.

Okay. Do they have at the ADL in L.A. a, uh, a computer system or data base...

No, they do not.

...connected to the files?

They do not.

b6 b7C No. Okay.

And to my, to my knowledge they don't have, uh, it anywhere in the ADL.

Okay. Uh, did you have anything like that at home?

No, I did not.

Okay. Um, how, what was your background before the ADL? Uh, what kind of work were you doing then?

My background? Um, graduated from Cal State Northridge in 1988. Uh, went to law school, didn't like it. Dropped out after five weeks. Uh, then after several months I got the ADL position.

And when you applied for it did you know it was for the Fact Finder?

Uh, they, they explained to me what, what the job entailed. When I applied.

What, what kind of money were you making?

I started off making \$21,000 a year, and my ending salary was \$22,250 a year.

Well, was that a full-time job?

Yes.

Okay, was it more than full-time sometimes?

Uh, nine to five. Uh, but then on, on occasion when I would co-, cover meetings I would be like, you know, on my own time, at night, weekends, or what have you.

And when you covered meetings, do you, uh, prepare reports?

Yes. Memos.

Memos. Uh, were they "pinks" like the one in San Francisco, the ones in San Francisco?

Uh, originally they were, all on pinks. But then, uh, after a few months I, I got an angry call from Fact Finding Director IRWIN SUALL in New York, telling me .I'm "overusing the pinks." Uh, thereafter I'd do just regular white.

Okay. And IRWIN SUALL, is he, is he the, uh, what's his title in New York.

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Okay. And did you know, uh, your, I assume he was your

equivalent in San Francisco,

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	uh huh?
	Yes. Yes.
	And how long, uh, when did you meet him?
•	Uh, I met him, it must have been the summer of 1989.
,	What were the circumstances there?
	Uh, he, he came down here. I don't know what, for, for what purpose, but he, but he visited the office. We were then on Wilshire Boulevard.
	Okay.
	That's when I met him for the first time.
	And you guys hit it off pretty well, is that right?
	Yeah.
	Okay.
	Yeah.
	Did you keep that relationship up, uh, uh, for how long?
	Um, until, until I left the ADL. Till I was fired.
	And how often did you, uh, talk to or did you see uh, in that, in the interim?
	Oh, I spoke to him on the phone, uh, for, on the average two, maybe three times a week. Sometimes more, sometimes less, depending on the, uh, level of activity that was going on, uh, but on the average, two to three times a week. Uh, he would come down, on occasion, to L.A., once every few months.
	Did you ever go to San Francisco?
	No.
	And, to your knowledge, did, uh, uh, have the same job as you?
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Um, in some respects. Uh, his official job title I think was called, uh, Investigator, Field Investigator, and he's been doing it for thirty-odd years. Uh, I don't think

his job entailed maintaining the files in San Francisco. I don't, I really don't know.

Okay.

But, in that respect, not really. He didn't really have same job that I did.

I see.

Although a lot of our interests and duties, uh, overlapped, overlapped.

Okay. Now, did, were you aware of, uh, data base in his house?

Yes.

Okay. Uh, and how were you aware, did tell you?

Oh yes.

About his computer?

Uh huh.

And, uh, what is your estimation of what was in the computer, or what, what types of information was in computer?

Um, names of, uh, groups and individuals. I think he kept a separate list of Arab names, of individuals and groups, and then I think another one for right-wing, what he termed right-wing, uh, groups and individuals.

Did he tell you any other sub-sections?

Oh, and left-wing, although I, maybe left-wing was with Arab groups, I...

Did he tell you what left-wing was actually called?

Uh...

does that mean anything, to your understanding?

Could be, yeah, yeah.

Okay. And did you have, ah, ah, did you ever have, uh, reason to call up there and inquire, make inquiries on any names that had?

Yes.

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No, I never met

ever mention him?

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Yes.
Uh, in, in what context, or why would he mention him?
Um
Who is according to
Uh, his friend, in the San Francisco Police Department.
Did he say where he worked?
Yeah, the San Francisco Police Department.
What, what department, or, or what area in the police department?
Uh, he, he mentioned one time, uh, I guess he was monitoring Chinese gangs, I think it was.
And that's all you knew about, uh, as far as work?
Yeah. I, I got the impression it more personal.  To the, and had a
Yeah.
personal relationship.
A personal friendship.
Did ever let you know that he used for information?
He never outright said that.
Okay, uh, did he imply it in any other way?
He, uh, I, I guess the assumption would be there, but he also told me that he had other law enforcement contacts.
Okay.
And, but he never implicitly, implicitly said, "I got this information from " or, "I'm going to ask

And occasionally you would call up there, uh, with a license number, or inquiry that re-, required a law enforcement, uh....

10 Yeah. .... "official friend" help? Yes. Yes. Yes. Yes. Okay. And you would call | at his house? Yes, at his house. Okay. And how long would it take to turn the information over and get back to you? Oh, a couple days. I think two, three days, uh, it depends. It wasn't that long. Okay. And was it, uh, did they ever let you down, or did they ever, always give you the information you requested? I always got the information. And just like, uh, much like has, or had, uh, friends or law enforcement friends that would run things in the computer, did you have any down here who would help Yes. Okay. Did, uh, ever mention to you that he had a relationship with the FBI? No. Did he ever mention to you about a relationship with the, uh, Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms, or ATF? He did mention something about ATF. Do you remember what? Um, not specifically. Uh, I think it had something to do with, uh, the individual who was L in San Francisco, which he called And, I guess at one point was, uh, an ATF intormant. Okay.

He has, uh, something along, uh, so I know he, he had some kind of connection with ATF.

He was

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Huh uh.

Yeah. Yeah. Because he got, I think, arrested again
Is this
Yeah. What did he, uh, I forgot what he called himself
How about (phonetic)?
Yeah. Yeah.
Okay. '.
Yeah. Yeah. But he was pretty entertaining.
Did, uh, mention anything about, uh, giving either or the ATF access to the line, or the, uh, the messages on the line?
Uh, at one, uh, short period of time, he was able to access
Who's he?
A.A.
Okay.
And he had the code number where, in which he was able to access, uh, the messages left onin San Francisco.
Okay.
That he could retrieve.
Did say how he got the messages, or how he got the code access?
No
Okay. Did he ever tell you that gave him the code access?
Oh I, something about uh, he met him, he was an ATF, uh, informant, he wasn't, he met him, or he wasn't, I, I don't have specifically
Did ever mention that, in fact, uh, (coughs), the ATF also knew about this, uh, message interception?

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ADL money....

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Never to you? Okay. Did you have, uh, informants down here in the L.A. area that you used, also? Yes. Okay. Was it common practice to pay informants? Yes. Okay. And.... Well, this particular informant, uh, I don't know about all informants. Okay. You talking about Yeah. Okay. And, how long was he, uh, an informant of, of yours or the ADL in, in L.A.? Oh, good couple of years. Maybe two years. A year and a half. Something like that. And what group was he a part of? Uh, at one point he headed a, a Skinhead group called the American Firm, although he, it kind of dissolved, and he was pretty much on his own. Does that word, American Firm, mean, mean anything now, to your knowledge? Just that that group, that Skinhead group that, that headed at one point, which is now defunct. Uh, what types of de-, denominations would you rou-, routinely pay \_\_\_\_ uh what kind of amounts are we talking about? That who would, uh, routinely pay Well, I, I'm not sure who was paying him. Was it, uh, ADL money that was paying Yeah, I was. You were paying \_\_\_ Well I, not my own money, but ADL, I was....

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Yeah. Went to Okay. Yeah. Okay, uh, we'll get this. (Laughs). We will refine that a little bit. First of all, how did first come to your attention? came to our attention because he called up the ADL office here in Los, well, here in Los Angeles, and he said, uh, he was a former Skinhead, and he, he, you know, regrets his old ways, and that kind of stuff. Okay, and did he.... And the, the Assistant Director, who originally took the call, you know, she didn't, she didn't, she didn't know, Skinheads that much from a hole in the head, and, then, uh, do you, you know anything on, on this name? And I, I had whatever information I had, and, that, that's how we became in contact with him. And did \_\_\_\_\_ ask for money, or he just wanted to, right off the bat, did he come out asking for money? Oh, in the original phone call? No, I don't think, I didn't take the original phone call. Okay. So I, I don't know, but I, I don't think so. I don't know. And then you got, did you, as a result of that phone call, did you end up meeting with \_\_\_\_\_ at one time? I never met with Never? Never. Did you talk to him on the phone? I never spoke to on the phone.

or...

Okay. How did you contact

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	<del></del>
[	I, I never contacted Uh, on a few occasions, I think, first or may, and then later uh, needed to contact they would first call and after would contact Wait, no, no. excuse me, I think had, at one point, phone number. She, she would call on, she spoke to on a few occasions.
	Okay, and was uh, paid ADL money eventually?
	Oh yes.
	What types of denominations?
	Two-hundred dollars a week.
	Okay. Was that cash?
	No, it was, uh, um, cashier's check, um, mo-, money order. Money order, excuse me.
	And that's an ADL money order?
	Yes. Well they, they would give me the money and I would go through the whole rigamarole every week, to get the cashier's check, and, uh, the money order, rather, and mail it to him.
	Okay. So who would give you the money?
	Um, one of the secretaries in the ADL office in Los Angeles. A check. I would get a check every week, and then I would go to
	They would give you a person, a, a, a business check from the ADL?
	Yeah.
	Okay.
	Made out to "cash." And then I would cash the check and I would go to the Post Office and buy a money order, and then mail it.
	Was that desire, that he wanted a money order, or was that
	I don't, I never spoke to so I, I don't know. I guess originally that's what, I guess it was who instructed me to do it.

(Coughs). Do you remember what bank the, uh, ADL checks were drawn on?

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City National Bank.

You sure of that?

Yeah. Yeah.

So you know what ba-, uh, branch?

Um, they're, it's on Vermont Street, I think it is. Near downtown L.A.

Where?

Vermont Street.

Vermont Street?

I, I, on occasion, uh, no, oh the ADL itself.
I'm getting two things mixed up. Now, um, I don't know.
I, I really don't know where the ADL, itself.

Okay, you're confusing those with your salary check, is that right? Okay.

No, I'm confusing that with another, another account.

Okay.

I had my own Fact Finding account.

Oh, okay, okay.

Under an assumed name.

Okay, okay so....

And that was City National Bank. Uh, ADL, I, I, I got an ADL check, itself.

With their logo on it?

Yeah.

But you don't know what bank that was from?

But, uh, all these years, I don't really know. I don't even know if I remember.

Now you got a check specifically to cash for

Yeah.

Okay. And then you had your own....

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Yeah.

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....work account.

I had my own bank account.

And then you had your own, however you get your paycheck. And we're talking about three different things here.

Yeah, yeah.

Okay.

Yeah.

(Coughs). And where did you send it to \_\_\_\_ ? Was it a....

His P.O. box.

Okay. And how long did this \$200 a week go for?

Hmm.

About, about the whole two years that you knew him?

Oh, um, pretty much. It, it came out to a lot of money at the end (laughs).

Did they figure out an amount, or...

Well, one day I was bored and I had nothing better to do, and I, I just calculated it all up, for the hell of it.

Yeah.

And it was like, last November it came out to a little over \$18,000.

Okay. Well, now what about, you said you had a, uh, an assumed name with a, a bank account, or....

Uh huh.

....a slush fund, so to speak. Uh, I assume that was for your sources and, uh, different expenses that....

Basically, uh, for, uh, Fact Finding, you know, um, getting subscriptions to magazines or newspapers, sending away for books or tapes, that sort of thing. It wasn't very much. I mean, it wasn't very, it wasn't a very big account.

Okay. And who supplied money for that account?

b6 b7C

Okay.

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On occasion, if it got real, I mean it got real low, on a, on a few occasions, then I would just ask him, for some more money, and then I would deposit that into the account.

What form did he give you the money for that? Was that on an ADL check?

Um....yeah. Yeah. But then I would go to my own bank first and cash that.

Okay.

(Laughs). And then I would deposit the cash, into that, I think it was, Fact Finding account, at City National Bank.

(Coughs). What, what undercover name was used at the City National Bank?

Initial

And what address did you use on that one?

That was, the address for that account, well, the address was the address at the, uh, our mail drop.

Do you remember that?

Los Angeles, California 90046.

Okay. Now, how was your salary paid to you?

Oh, just like the rest of the employees.

Was it in, every two weeks, or....

Uh, yes, every two weeks.

-- ---

Was that on a....

On the fifth and the twentieth, of every month.

On ADL checks?

Oh sure. Regular, just like every other employee there. I think it came from New York.

And now then, you don't remember the branch, or the type of bank?

ь6 ь7с

remember, uh
Okay. Did ever mention paying for any of the information?
No.
Okay.
Well like, well, like I said, he never came out and said, "I got this information from "He never, let alone saying I, I paid for this information.
Now did you work with any FBI agents out of the L.A. office.
No.
Okay.
No.
Any FBI agents whatsoever that you
On one occasion, a young, local, FBI agent came to the ADL, and we gave him some reports that I, to tell you the truth, I had no, no reason to get involved with them.
Okay.
So I, I never pursued that.
Did ever mention anything about a, uh, South Africa, or his relationship with a, a group in South Africa, or, uh, people from South Africa?
Uh, yeah, he, he mentioned that he was helping a South African.
Okay. Um, you know what? Let me, let me backtrack on, I forgot to, you know, that one point, uh, with regard to
Uh huh.
Did ever mention, or did you ever learn from the ADL that was being paid?
No. He never said anything that I, I didn't think he was. I didn't, never mentioned anything.
Okay. Okay, so did mention he had a, a contact with a South African person?

G

Yeah.

Did he say the context of that?

I think I, I see that you're, you're looking at your lawyer. Um, and it seems to be probably a little bit of a, a touchy issue with you.

Uh huh.

I mean, based on, on your account to the FBI, in that report.

Uh huh.

Uh, just let us say that we've had an extensive interview with and he's laid pretty much everything out, uh, and he's, he's laid it out to the FBI also.

Uh huh.

And it's, it's common, uh, it's knowledge, uh, we, we know, uh, we, we feel we know exactly what, uh, you know, we, we think was up front with us, and what we're looking for here is, uh, for you to corroborate what told us.

Okay, um, maybe we can a, a break for a moment.

Sure. I'm ready to turn over the tape anyway. We're going to take a break. The time is 11:49.

Okay.

## RECORDING IS STOPPED.

## RECORDING RESUMES.

The date is still January 28, 1993. Uh, we just turned over the tape and ended our short break. We're going to continue questioning, or, the interview. That's more,

kinder and gentler, I guess. Okay, you, you mentioned to me earlier, to us earlier that, um, you called periodically, or called you for, for different reasons.

Uh huh.

And on occasion you would call him, uh, looking for inquiries regarding law enforcement, uh, type, uh, information sought regarding Department of Motor

b6 b7С Vehicles, or an address to a license number, something of that nature. How frequent were the calls for actual law enforcement material, or, or something besides just normal, computer.

I would say infrequent. Uh. the basis for what most of my conversations with calling him up on the phone, was I would tell him what I'm up to, he would say what he's up to, what's going, uh, down in his neck of the woods, woods, and my neck of the woods. Sometimes I, I would have a, a name that he wouldn't have, or he, I would, he would have a name that I wouldn't have. On a few occasions it would be, can you look up, uh, can, can you run a P.O. box, or something like that.

Okay. How many, uh, if you just had to throw a round-house estimate out, about how many times a month would that occur?

Uh, that I, personally would ask him for, how many times a month? Maybe once a month or something. It wasn't that frequent.

Okay. I get, the picture, I think. Now did, did, uh, ever mention to you about, uh, being in possession of intelligence files from the San Francisco Police, or anything of that nature?

Yes, he mentioned, uh, that on one occasion, I think it had something to do with old American Nazi Party files.

I think he also may, may have mentioned the name (phonetic).

Now did he, uh, say where he got these American Nazi files, or whatever he was referring to?

From the San Francisco Police Department. They were going to throw them out, and he received them.

Did he say who, who from the San Francisco Police....

No, he did not.

Okay, let's go back to South Africa.

(Coughs).

What did tell you about his, uh, contacts with the, uh, uh, the relationship with a man from South Africa, or a person?

b6 b7C Um, he said that he was helping out an individual from South Africa, uh, with information on Bay Area anti-apartheid groups.

b6 b7C

Did he say who the man was, or what, who he represented, or what, what organization he was from?

No, just South Africa.

Did he somehow imply that the guy was from the government of South Africa?

Uh, he never implicitly said anything like that.

Okay. Did he ever say he was paid for selling the information?

Yeah, I'm gonna have to object to that as, as we discussed earlier.

Okay.

Uh, again, uh, it's a question that he normally would like to answer, but we'd have to give him, uh, uh, we'd have to get, uh, in writing from the FBI some assurances that, uh, that answering questions about, uh, exposure to criminal liability.

In, all right, you're talking....

From the FBI (unintelligible).

All right.

Okay? And if we were to get that, we would be glad to, uh, provide the answers on an affidavit, a declaration, or if you'd care to come down here again, in another interview.

Okay. That's fine.

Okay.

As far as the, the same line of questioning, and, and stop me if if uh, you want to, but did, uh, ever mention being involved in a partnership with him, in the South African connection?

Yes, uh, he did.

Okay. Did he mention how long this relationship with the South African lasted?

No. I don't know how long it lasted.

b6

b7C

Jever ask you to, uh, participate in any information gathering, or, attend any meetings which were in respect to the, uh, South African information?

No, he did not. However, uh, you know, now that, uh, everything's, uh, transpired, I can look back on past conversations and wonder why he, he said this, this and that, and, or, the other. Uh, I remember, um, a couple years back, he, it was a while back. I don't remember exactly when, but, uh, and I had no knowledge at all of anything, any of the dealings with the South Africans. This was just ADL work. And apparently, as I remember there was some crackdown in South Africa, or some kind of political development going on in South Africa, and at the time he mentioned to me, oh, you know, there was a recent crackdown, or something going on in South Africa. And he said there would be a lot of activity in the Bay Area, with anti-apartheid groups. Um, and he would have to prepare, get onto it now, and, and really, be, be onto the, onto the, uh, anti-apartheid, local anti-apartheid groups.

Okay.

But I assumed he was talking about ADL work.

did, by his own admission, tell us that Now a lot of the ADL work and the South African work kind of dovetailed.

Yeah, he, uh, he also mentioned to me that he, it wasn't any great effort on be, on his behalf, because he was doing that kind of work anyway for the ADL.

Okay. Did he mention to you what types of information he was giving the South Africans? |

Information on Bay Area anti-apartheid groups, I guess. Who, who holds which P.O. box, that sort of thing.

All right.

I didn't, he wasn't all that specific.

All right. Okay, let's change the, uh, the lines, here, of questioning. Do you remember, a person in vour files at the ADL in Los Angeles named, uh, show, let me show you a, uh, file, or actually it's a copy of a file....

Uh huh.

....on this individual. And this is a, a file folder,

and we, we condensed it down....

Uh huh.

b6 b7C

....from the, uh, from the Xerox. And inside here is a report, from you, uh, it says, and this was found in the ADL office in San, in Los Angeles. Do you remember that report,

Oh, wow. Yes, I remember it. What would you like to know?

Ah. let me look. And, uh, would you like to look at it,

Just once. Yes.

Do vou remember what the, uh, context of, uh, the inquiry on was made?

Yeah, um, uh....

I, uh, it's self-explanatory.

Yeah.

Could you explain in now?

Like the memo explains, I mean, I, I saw this individual, uh, driving around the ADL building, on several occasions. Uh, and he was parked near the ADL building. And you know, normally, very security conscious.

Sure.

There's a security guard there, and, and, uh, I thought it was, I thought he might have had some bad reason for being....around the ADL.

Uh huh.

So I took down his license plate.

Okay, the, uh....

Interestingly enough, he had a. he bore a kind of resemblance to, to, uh,

(Laughs). Uh, what's the date on that, uh, March 25, 1992? And do you remember that to be fairly accurate? The date?

**b6** 

b7C

Yeah. I guess so.

That's about the ballpark, huh?

Uh huh.

Okay. What did you, uh, as a result of this report, or, uh, this, uh, incident, did you make any inquiries in San Francisco?

Well, I guess I, I gave \_\_\_the, uh, license plate number to look up for me. And this is what he found out for me.

To look up, what do you mean? (Coughs).

To run the number for me, see who he is.

And not to repeat the obvious, but I think, uh, doesn't have the capability of doing that, to your knowledge, is that right? He would have to, uh, employ someone, or....

Uh huh.

....ask for someone else's assistance?

Law enforcement.

Law enforcement. And do they, uh, does the ADL routinely, uh, refer to law enforcement as "official friends?"

Yes. And I, I told, uh, DAVID LEHRER about this report, and I think he was the one who suggested that I just write it down, keep a, a memo of it, in case his name comes up in the future, or, or....

All right. He suggested the file be....

Yeah.

....opened? Okay.

Yeah.

Do you remember, uh, do you remember yourself calling up, uh, and asking for the, for that license number?

Yeah.

Okay. And do you remember how long it took for him to get back, on you?

. .

Oh, maybe a couple days. I don't think it was that long. I, don't remember, off hand. And the date on this report, March 25, this would be after you've received the information back from \_\_\_\_... Yeah. Yeah. .... as far as the, uh, so there could have been a two or three day lag period before that.... Yeah. ....when you actually called Yeah. Okay. Okay, and the license number is right? A Ford Mustang? Uh huh. All right. And this is the file folder you made up? Yeah. In regards to that. Okay, another incident that we, uh, found out about, this is, uh, with your interview from the FBI.... Uh huh. ....about a, I think a neighbor of you, you got in some sort of altercation, named Uh huh. You remember that? Yeah. Could you tell me a little bit about that? Well, the.... Let me refresh your, uh, memory as far as a possible date. Toward the end of '91? Yeah. Maybe December?

That was when we moved into our new apartment there.

b6 b7C

b6

b7C

When did you move into the apartment? December. Now tell me a little bit about what happened that Okay. time. Uh, I came home for lunch one day, shortly after we moved in, and I was driving back from my apartment to the ADL office, and this guy was like, really driving crazy, screaming all over the place....nearly ran me off the road. Uh like, like a, like a crazy man. And, uh, I followed his car back, and he went, he parked, at the apartment building next to my apartment building, and I took down his license plate number, and I called to find out, basically, what I wanted to find out, I wanted to be, rest assured that he didn't live next door to me. And unfortunately, it came back that he was, so.... He did live there? Yeah. Do you remember what street he lived on? Yeah. Uh, would that be the Yeah. Uh huh, I guess that. Okay. And you called in regards to, uh, inquiring the license, much like you did on the other one, on Uh huh. |got back to you? And Yeah. How, do you remember, uh....

I don't know. Uh, it was a, couple days.

ь6 ь7с

27 Did you ask to, uh, check with his official friends, or whatever, or.... Yeah. ....it was just, uh, assumed. Yeah. came back with the information, and the information, uh.... Was that he was my next door neighbor. Okay. Let me show you this. I know. That was from the, uh.... This was a piece of paper found in the L.A. ADL office.... Uh huh. ....at the file cabinet. Yeah. I think you forgot to take this with you (laughs). Whatever. It was stuck up there with Scotch tape. I know. Uh huh. Is this, uh, your handwriting? Yes it is. Okay, and you wrote down this license number?

Uh huh.

And you wrote down the name?

Uh huh..

Okay, and, uh, why did you leave it in this location?

I don't know.

Okay.

Just to....keep a note of it.

All right.

And a, a, when I found out he was my neighbor, I just, I never went near him. I never looked towards him. I never, I just avoided him, and it was never another confrontation, or, or any crazy....but I, the purpose of me trying to get this information was so I can be assured that he wasn't my neighbor (laughs). But....

Well, upon your termination from the, uh, ADL, uh, this was most likely left on the wall.

Yeah.

And no one ever took it off, I guess.

No. No.

Okay. Well, probably one of the, one of the touchier subjects we're gonna talk about, we have to mention this, is the story.

Uh huh.

And, uh, you want us to, you want to give me a little background on that?

Well, a little background, uh, uh. I went for an interview, a year ago June, with \_\_\_\_\_\_ of the Wiesenthal Center. Uh, um, I wasn't making that much money at the ADL, and I was looking for another job. So I went for an interview with \_\_\_\_\_\_ It was a cordial interview, but, uh, he was really jackin' me around.

Uh huh.

Telling me that, uh, it's not common courtesy for someone from the ADL to switch to the Wiesenthal Center. He told me that in, in, in Hebrew. It's the word, word called "gara hara" (phonetic), which I guess it translates, uh, a "common courtesy."

Uh huh.

And, um, just basically, you know, he was on a fishing expedition. He didn't, he wasn't really interested in hiring me, or, he just, just giving me the run around. You know, he wanted just to see some memos that, that, that I might have written, or something like that.

I, I can't, I, you know, everything I've written is pretty much of a confidential nature. Okay, well, you know, maybe, maybe not now. Maybe in three months you

call me. You know, really giving me the run around. And, after I came to this real, realization, I was kind of pissed, at him, and, uh, the Wiesenthal Center. And, I said in, in a joking manner, one time to on the phone, uh, why don't we, uh, expose him, uh, the Wiesenthal Center investigator, researcher, By exposing him, what do you mean? Um, apparently, uh, he also was receiving, uh, literature and subscriptions in various hate organizations, so I just, just to, uh, may, maybe bandy his name around, and see what comes up. See, see what, what organizations, uh, he gets subscriptions to, and that sort of thing. Okay. But it was, in purely a joking manner, and, uh, nothing was ever done, to harm him, or to publicize his name, by me, or \_\_\_\_\_ And it was in a private conversation between the two of us. \_\_as this joke to make? Why did you pick \_\_\_ Did he get the position that you wanted, or.... Oh, no. Actually, he, he had his position since 1986. I don't know. It just, when you're.... You're frustrated with the whole.... Yeah. ....organization, I guess? When you're bitter, you say things, that you might regret latter on. But just, it was just me, mouthing off. And this was when? This was in June of '92 or '91? Yeah, it was, it was a good few months, before my firing at the ADL. Okay. Uh, may, maybe a good three months, or maybe more. Prior to, to that. And, uh, they, it was a conversation once, it, uh, never came to anything. It was, it was a joke between us and, and was left at that. any information to do Okay, did you ever give, uh, any research on Yeah, I wanted to find out where he lived.

b6 b7C Okay, and....

I gave him the license plate, for

The license plate of his car? Okay, how did you obtain the license plate of car?

Oh, DAVID LEHRER asked me to come, go, oh no, what happened was, uh, Wiesenthal Center has a, I don't know, monthly publication, and, uh, it was last year, I guess it was during the primary Presidential elections, and, um, there, there were a bunch of interviews between, I guess, officials of the Simon Wiesenthal Center and the Their views on Soviet various Presidential candidates. Jewry, and, uh, Israel, and what-not. And, uh, DAVID LEHRER seemed to think that, uh, it violated their, or might have violated, uh, their non-profit status. The ADL's very, very concerned about this matter, and he wanted a copy of that, uh, Wiesenthal Center publication, I guess to forward to New York, to make a comment about, uh, oh, are they jeopardizing their non-profit tax status by covering the news. They're not supposed to be doing things like that, having anything to do with elections, if you're a non-profit organization. So, uh, on my lunch break I went down to the Wiesenthal Center, just to the lobby there, just, to pick up a copy of that, was coming, coming out of the parking and, uh, Nearly ran over my foot (laughs).

On purpose?

No. No.

Okay.

He doesn't, he doesn't know me from a hole in the head.

Okay.

I just jotted down, well, actually I didn't jot down, I remem-, when I came back to the ADL, I remembered it for....

What was your intention, uh, why did you want to find out where he lived?

Just curiosity.

Okay. You never in, intended any harm to come to him?

No.

Uh, does that ring a bell?

b6

b7C

b6

b7C

Okay.

But way before October, and no harm ever came to the guy, and his name wasn't publicized.

(Coughs) .

b6 b7с

And it was a light-hearted conversation.

Okay, was involved in, uh, infiltrating any undercover groups, any, I mean, any groups?

I don't know. I don't, uh, he says that he, you know, receives their subscriptions and that kind, I really don't know.

Pull something else out of my bag of tricks here. Do you recognize this report?

Yes.

Can I take a look at it, please?

Sure. And as long as, uh, you don't memorize anything in there, we won't have to shoot your eyeballs out, or.... It,s a (laughs), it's uh, supposed to be....

Yeah, right.

It's supposed to be a confidential report, but, uh....

Did you prepare this report?

No, that's the one I told you about.

Ah, okay.

Can we talk about this?

Sure can.

Okay. This is a report entitled The, The Nation of Islam. That's on top of the, uh....

Uh huh.

....table of contents. It's thirty-four pages.

Uh huh.

Have you seen this report before?

Yes.

Okay. Where have you seen this report?

In my office at the ADL. In a box.

When did you see it there first?

b6 b7C

Uh, several months ago, I can't be exact to tell you, it was during the whole Venice, California H.U.D., uh, situation with Nation of Islam. That's the, uh, federal housing urban authority, department. It's contemplating giving a contract to Nation of Islam for security for, to provide security for....

Rìght.

....apartment buildings in Venice.

I read a lot about that in your old office (laughs).

(Unintelligible) .

A lot of material there, and, uh, quite frankly, this might have been there, and I didn't pay much attention to it, I don't know. But anyway, uh, this, do you know how this report got there?

I assume it was from \_\_\_\_\_\_\_, because, uh, attached to this report was a pink memo, dated 1988, I think it was, from \_\_\_\_\_\_\_ to IRWIN SUALL in New York, stating that, uh, she received this from a I guess it was a highly confidential law enforcement contact, official friend, and to be treated in confidence, that kind of stuff.

Was the pink like a routing slip, or....

No, a memo.

Memo.

Memo.

And this was, uh, dated back in when?

188.

And do you remember doing anything with it, or....

Yeah.

....whatever happened?

I, it was during this whole, uh, situation with, uh, H.U.D. and Nation of Islam in Venice, and at that time, uh, in Washington, D.C. was, was doing research and writing an op-ed piece on this whole matter, uh, particularly focusing on the criminal history of the





Nation of Islam leaders. And, I think it was originally for the Washington Times or Post, although I think it was syndicated later on, in other papers. And, uh, just by happenstance, I found this in a box, uh, in my office. I didn't know it was there before. And, I sent a copy of that to in Washington, with the attached memo on top. And a copy of that also to Cause I
figured she, she could use it in her op-ed piece.  Okay, so this, uh, to your knowledge, this, uh, did you talk to later about this memo, or this report, I mean?
Yeah.
Had he seen it before?
I don't think so, no.
So it's safe to assume, uh, from your standpoint, that, uh, it didn't emanate from is that correct?
No. It emanated from
Okay, who was working in the L.A. office?
Yeah, she was the predecessor for
And she had friends in law enforcement as well?
Obviously, yeah.
Okay. You have any knowledge of the ADL-sponsored trips to Israel?
Uh
Like for law enforcement?
Uh, for law, uh, just mentioned one time that, I don't know, relatively recently, I don't, past couple years, that organized, uh, a trip, for law enforcement personnel, to Israel.
Uh huh. And
That's all I know.
do you have any, uh
He
knowledge of how they're selected, or, or why, or

b6 b7С I don't know. I guess | I don't know. also said that she had to raise, she, it was a fight with IRWIN SUALL, and she had to raise her own fund, I mean it was an up, uphill battle, as far as this trip was concerned, but she pulled it off. Did they ever ask you to make any recommendations for any personnel? No, no. ١. Okay. That's all I know about that trip. stuff. Uh, let me get back to the Uh huh. Is that your writing? Yeah. Okay, it's a, uh, memo I found in the ADL office. Yeah. And, handwritten about Uh huh. Okay, what, what's the purpose of that? Uh, that was a, a note I wrote, to myself, following a conversation with this individual who produced, or was involved with that, uh, "God's Country" play. The guy came to me originally, wanting information on the ALAN BERG murder, and Aryan Nations, and then, I guess he asked to, uh, lead audience discussions, and so I, this was my, notes of my conversation with, I think his name was something, I don't know. It's immaterial, okay. What, what about this news

article?

#### California Jewish Press.

And, is this your writing on the bottom?

Yeah.

Okay, and that refers to, uh, "God's Country" again?

36 Yeah. The, the play? Uh huh. Okay. Can I have a copy of that article? I, I can't give you, you could call the, uh.... I did. at the, at, uh, ADL. I, I can't, give out, ....call this is, this is a copy of evidence that we seized and we can't, uh.... Oh. ....copy any of that out. Sorry. 'Cause I tried to get a copy from the California Jewish Press, and it's a real (laughs), they, they don't have any more copies of those. Okay. What's the date of the article? Uh, 7/24.... 7/24/92; it's handwritten. <u>California Jewish Press.</u> 7/29? 7/24/92. All right. I'll pull something out of here. More tricks here. Here's a list of some law enforcement officers that, uh, uh, went to the ADL-sponsored trip to Israel. Uh huh.

Do you recognize any of the names?

Yeah, I recognize his name.

San Diego uh, Sheriffs?

Uh huh.

b6

b7C

Okay. That's the only one I And, of course, and, uh, recognize. Just, uh, Have you had any contact with any ADL people recently, since you've been fired, or, recently? Not recently, since I've been fired. Uh, I had a few , Uh, she called, conversations with, uh, \_\_\_\_\_ well, initially, it was about my last check, when, when's my last check coming in, that kind of stuff. Um.... Also, he's being represented by my brother, who's also an attorney, named \_\_\_\_\_ | and, and by myself, with, oh, possibly filing a civil action against the, uh, against the ADL. Okay. But With regards to the termination (unintelligible)? . With regards to the termination and the circumstances surrounding the termination. Okay. called me on one occasion to ask me And a technical question, uh, what type of shoe, shoelaces various Skinhead groups wear. It seems there was some kind of a.... The red versus the white, or, whatever (unintelligible). Yeah, there was some kind of Skinhead murder trial in Houston, Texas, and I guess no one in the ADL knew these answers, and she called me. A little chutzpah, but, uh.... Did you give her the answer? Yeah, I gave her the answer. I'm a, I'm a, I'm a sucker, I quess. Uh, someone, someone once explained to me that the definition of chutzpah....

----

Yeah.

	<del>-</del>
	is when someone walks in behind you on a revolving door, and he comes out on the other end in front of you (laughs).
	(Laughs).
	Is that accurate (laughs)?
	(Unintelligible).
	I guess.
	So that's
	(Laughs). But that's a little analogy.
	Uh, the real definition of chutzpah is, uh, when you're, uh, when you
RE	CORDING STOPS
RE	CORDING RESUMES
	I think a prime example of federal chutzpah is when the, uh,
RE	CORDING STOPS
RE	CORDING RESUMES
	Okay, here we go. The, uh, tape had run out on the other one, and we're starting side number three now, and the time is 12:34. Continuing. With Okay you mentioned, uh, making payments to
	Uh huh.
	Uh, sending them to him, through a P.O. box, with the ADL, uh, paying for it.
	Uh huh.
	Uh, were there any other informants that you also had, uh, and I'm not going to ask you to name 'em, but, did you have other informants that, uh, you, you paid on a regular basis, similar to
	No, he was the only one.
	Okay. The entire time you worked for the ADL?
	Yes.
	Was the only one that you paid?

Okay. You're right (laughs).

b6 b7С Okay. Do you have any, uh, law enforcement contacts in the L.A. area, that you were particularly, uh, uh, had a good working relationship with. Yes. Okay, how many were there? Uh, three, that I personally had contact with. Okay, would, would you mind naming them? Um, they were all from the, uh, Sheriff's Department. L.A. County Sheriff's Department. Okay. and Um, um, (laughs) um, L Okay. And, did they, uh, did they work, uh, right groups, or Skins or anything like that, or, uh.... uh, worked, uh, the Arab groups. Although now he was, he left that unit, several months ago, and he is assigned just reqular Sheriff's now, I don't know what he's doing. Uh, |uh, works the, uh, black extremist groups and the, uh, Iranian groups. |did all the, like white supremacists. Uh, do you know a guy by the name, a law enforcement guy in Southern California named

Yeah.

Okay, uh, do you know what agency he's with?

He's with the Anti-terrorism Division, L.A.P.D.

Okay, and did you work with him also?

No. I spoke to him on one occasion, that that, oh, uh, ADL was getting all these, uh, uh, threatening letters, in regard to their, to one of their black extremist reports. And, uh, she just asked me, you know. she, she sent copies of these and she just asked me to call just to, to, oh, uh, oh, to get his address, so, uh, uh, where I could send 'em to. And that's the only occasion I ever spoke to uh, ever give you information about Did uh, do you remember him with, uh, interrogating or, or talking to him, and.... No. ....uh, the ADL making a report about that? No. 4 And you know.... Okay. That's the only occasion I ever spoke to just to the address, where to send these letters. As far as you know, you've never given any money to or the ADL never has? Not to my knowledge. Okay. Um, when you were, uh, let go by the ADL.... Uh huh. ....were you let go, or were you fired? What exactly? Well, they, (laughs and coughs) they, should I say this? Yeah, well, we could say he was pressured into, uh.... Yeah, I was, I was to resign. ....into resign. But it was, it was really a fire. For the good of the League, huh? (Laughs) Yeah. Uh, still wondering why. Were you offered a, a special benefit, like, uh, continued health care, or something, if you would resign rather than being fired? Yes. Yes.

And what was that?



Well, my, my wife is pregnant.

Uh huh.

And I informed that, uh, you know, that, that health insurance is, is...first thing on my mind. And she assured me that, uh, if I would resign, then I would continue to be on their group health plan, uh, the only, uh, thing being that I would have to just pay my own premiums, monthly. She assured me that. And that's why I chose to resign instead of being fired. The way she explained it to me, if I would be fired I would be entitled to unemployment benefits. If I would resign, I would be entitled to continue on the group health plan.

Uh, as a matter of fact, they reneged on that.

They reneged on both (laughs). They, uh, they fought me with the unemployment, I, I got an appeal, I'm, I'm, I have unemployment. Uh, and they denied me the unem, uh, the uh, health insurance. They even denied me, the, they even, uh, refused to give, to give me even, uh, my COBRA benefits, which is, like, the law. They, they, they, they ne-, they never even informed me that I'm entitled to COBRA until I started questioning them and asking them, and then I found out later on that it's like, \$850 a month. So they, they really screwed me, every which way.

The only other question I would ask has already been asked, and I, I, (cough), I just want to ask it again. Uh, to your knowledge, have you, or, or any, anybody in the ADL paid any law enforcement officer, any amounts of money for information received.

No.

And, do you have any, any, uh, relationship with any San Francisco police officer?

No, I don't.

Okay. I don't have any more.

Okay, I guess that's about it. I don't think you want to tell us anything voluntarily, without us asking (laughs). We're going to conclude the interview today....

Unless you feel that there's something that you feel you'd like to tell us, uh....

Not off hand.....(laughs).

I think, uh, you guys, I think you guys should be more in

the position of knowing what you want to know.

The time is 12:44. I'm concluding the interview. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

Thank you.

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# ew Details of Extensive DLSpy Operation Emerge

inquiry: Transcripts reveal nearly 40 years of espionage by a man who infiltrated political groups:

#### BY RICHARD C. PADDOCK TIMES STAFF WRITER

SAN FRANCISCO—To the out-side world Roy Bullock was a small-time art dealer who operated from his house in the Castro District. In reality, he was an undercover spy who picked through: garbage and amassed secret files for the Anti-Defamation League for nearly 40 years.

His code name at the prominent Jewish organization was Cal, and with police and the FBI in a he was so successful at infiltrating; growing scandal over the nation political groups that he was once chosen to head an Arab-American delegation that visited Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D.San Francisco) in her Washington, D.C. office.

For a time, Cal tapped into the

phone message system of the White Aryan Resistance to learn of hate crimes From police sources, he obtained privileged, personal information on at least 1,394 people And he met surreptitiously with agents of the South African government to trade his knowledge for crisp, new \$100 bills.

These are among the secrets that Bullock and David Gurvitz, a former Los Angeles based operative divulged in extensive interviews wide intelligence network operated: by the Anti-Defamation League.

Officials of the Anti-Defamation League, while denying any improper, activity, have said they will

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Date: 4/13/43

Edition:

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### SPY: 40 Years of Undercover Work for Al

cooperate with the investigation They have refused to discuss Bullock and Gurvitz.

among nearly 700 pages of docurs ments released by San Francisco prosecutors last week offer new details of the private spy operation, that authorities allege crossed the

line into illegal territory.

At times, the intelligence activities took on a cloak- and dagger air. with laundered payments, shred, ded documents, hotel rendezvous with foreign agents and code hames likes fromsides and Thipper likes from the firm of the

pro-Palestinian activist was about to board a plane bound for Hailas Israel Although the Anti-Delama tion League publicly denies any to Israel Gurvitz phoned an ties to israel, curvitz poned an israelii, consular official to i warn, him. Shortly, afterward, another official called Guryitz, back, and debriefed him.

The court, papers also added to

the mystery of Tom Gerard, a former CIA agent and San Francis co police officer accused of provid ing confidential material from po

lice files to the Anti-Defamation League (1) (1) (1) (Gerard fled to the Philippines last fall after he was interviewed by the FBI but left behind a briefcase in his police locker. Its contents included passports, driver's licenses and identification cards in 10 different names, identification cards in his own name for four American embassies in Central America, and a collection of blank hirth certificates Army dis charge papers and official statio nery from various agencies Also in the briefcase were exten sive information on death squads, a black hood, apparently for use in interrogations, and photos of blind-folded and chained men.

folded and chained men.
Investigators suspect that Gerard and other police sources gave the ADI confidential driver's li cense or vehicle registration infor mation on a vast number of people including as many as 4,500 mem bers of one target group, the Arab American Anti Discrimination Committee Each case of obtaining such data from a law enforcement officer could constitute a felony; San () Bullock said to became a maste Francisco Police Inspector, Ron way infiltrating prouse from Con-

Roth noted in an alfidavit for a serious such a roups from Core serious from Core se

self-described Jewish defense and civil rights organization, acknowledges it has long collected infor mation on groups that are anti-Se-mitte lextremist or racist. The ADL's fact finding division, head-cel by Irwin Suall in New York, enjoys a reputation for thorough ness, and thas often shared its information with police agencies and journalists. However, evidence seized from Bullock's computer shows he kept files on at least 950 groups of all political stripes, including the American Civil Liberties Union

Earth Island Institute, the United Auto Workers - Jews for Jesus k Mother Jones magazine, the Center, for Investigative Reporting the Bol (Gritz for President Committee, the Asian Law Caucus and the AIDS activist group ACT UP)

information on several members of Congress, including Pelosi, House Armed Services Committee Chair man Ron Dellums (D-Berkeley) and former Republican Rep. Pet McCloskey from the Bay Area

In their statements, Bullock and Guryitz said the Anti-Defamation League has collected information on political activists in the Los Angeless area for more than 30 years. They said they worked closely with three Los Angeles County sheriff's deputies who spe cialized in intelligence work, a Los Angeles Police Department antiterrorism expert and a San Diego County Sheriff's Department intel ligence officer

A spokesman for the Los Angel es Sherif's Department said he knew nothing of any contact be tween the deputies and the ADL The Los Angeles Police Depart-ment, which carlier, refused to cooperate with the investigation and the San Diego Sheriffs Department declined comment?

Bullock, 58, is one of the most intriguing characters in the spy drama Although he is not Jewish he began working undercover as volunteer for the ADL and the FB in Indiana in 1954 after reading book about a man who infiltrated the Communist Party.

the Communist Party

Bullock moved to Los Angeles in 1960 and was given a paid position by the (ADL) as an intelligence operative. he took authorities. In the mid 1970s he moved to San Francisco and continued his operations up and down the West

Coast. salary has always been funneled through Beverly Hills attorney Bruce I. Hochman—who has never missed a payment in more than 32

years Bullock said his are years Bullock said his are the ADL H. investigated any land all anti-democratic movements. Bullock said of the ADL I ma contract worker with Bruce Hoch man. That way, the league would not be officially connected with

Bradicals to skinheads, isually using and iFBI. Bullock talked his own name but, once adopting about engaging in certain a the alias Elmer Fink # 1 the alias Elmer Fink #

Francisco police isolve a bombing attra synagogue aby combing attra synagogue aby combing through the trash of extremist Cory Phelps, and matching hand writing with samples on a threat ening letter obtained by police in the control of the control of this investigation. part because of this investigation. he became close friends with Ger-ard, who at the time was working

ard, who at the time was working, in the San Francisco police intelligence division.

Bullock, frequently searched, through the garbage, of target, groups, An FBI report, noted how the investigated one. Palestinian group:

"Bullock, would write, reports based on what he found in the trash and would share the reports.

based fon what he found in the trash, and would share the reports with Gerard Bullock also gave the trash to Gerard Bullock also gave the trash to Gerard would later return. The trash to Bullock, the trash to Bullock the trash tries, kept files on 7,011 people. In 1987, Bullock and Gerard began selling some of their vast

wealth of information to the South African government, Bullock tells of meeting secrety with South African agents at San Francisco hotels and ireceiving envelopes fulled with thousands of dollars in new \$100 bils. 1 A Bullock insists the information

he sold consisted of data he culled only from public sources. Once he rewrote an innocuous item published by San Francisco Chronicle columnist Herb Caen about South 

from the South African govern-ment evenly with Gerard (clling him at one point I may be gay but I'm a straight arrow.

his 'owniname but once ladonting:

the alias Bliner Fink 'A'

"m'at one of a kind, he tolding to violate the law 'go';

police:

"In the mid-1980s, he helped San' cisco 'Police' Department intelligence on various places of the mid-1980s, he helped San' cisco 'Police' Department intelligence on various places of the mid-1980s, he helped San' cisco 'Police' Department intelligence on various Nazi groups that were supposed to be destroyed under department policy.

confidential a FBI areport on with Nation of Islam that he later shree ded at the Anti-Defamation

\*Bullock seemed proud of the Operation Pavesdrop win twhice he used a paid informant; code named Scumbag, to help tap into White Aryani Resistance, phoi message network, listening to t messages left by members of c right-wing group; For a srt time, it was wonderful, he ic police

record of any Arab. American what and anti-Israel teanings, or wh (wrote) a letter 2to 2a. expressing such sentiment.

Gurvitz was recently, forced to resign after an incident in which h attempted to misuse the ADL in telligence network to seek reveng Center for Holocaust Studie Gurviz got confidential police data on the rival and threatened it expose him as allows, sy to i right wing hate group. Gurviz has since begun coope; lating with police and the FBI in the

probe iproviding fconsiderable; formation about the ADL operation. Unlike Bullock, he has been assured he is not a subject of investigation. Gurvitz declined through his ther, in Lbs Angeles to be inte-viewed by The Times Builds

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# Line Never to Be Crosse

To defame is to injure a person's reputation or honor through false and malicious statements, to bring infamy or disgrace on that person. Since its founding in 1913, the Anti-Defamation League's worthy mission has been to stop defamation of Jews and to secure justice and fair treatment for all citizens. Yet recent news stories by Times staff writer Richard C. Paddock raise the question of whether the ADL might have crossed the clear line that separates gathering information on defamers and gathering information that possibly could be used to embarrass or even defame others.

Police last week served search warrants on ADL offices in San Francisco and Los. Angeles, seizing evidence of a nationwide intelligence operation that allegedly kept files on more than 950 political

groups, newspapers, labor unions and as many as 12,000 people. No charges have been filed, and so far the case has raised more questions than it has answered.

It is no surprise that the ADL has kept close tabs on individuals and groups of all stripes that trade in hate or violence, such as the Ku Klux Klan and the White Aryan Resistance. But why has the ADL collected information on the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, Greenpeace, Mills College in Oakland, the board of directors of San Francisco public television station KQED, the United Farm Workers, Los Angeles Times foreign correspondent Scott Kraft and several members of Congress?

What threat did these groups or individuals pose? Did the ADL act within the law in collecting this informa-

tion? If it did, why did it employ a clandestine operative who was paid through an.

Authorities say that at least some of the material collected was confidential information obtained illegally from law enforcement agencies, a felony. In addition, ADL members could face felony counts of eavesdropping and conspiracy, among other charges.

Some information gathered by the organization may have been sold to the South African

The ADL vigorously denies breaking any laws. It also promises to cooperate with investigations by the FBI, the San Francisco Police Department and San Francisco prosecutors. The Los Angeles Police Department, which has so, far refused to cooperate in these investigations, should do the same.

intermediary?

government, authorities say.

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# Group Urges Inquiry of ADL Spy Network

By KENNETH REICH TIMES STAFF WRITER

Officials of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee called Tuesday for a vigorous federal investigation of the Anti-Defamation League, charging that the Jewish organization's spy network has been engaged in massive civil rights violations aimed at critics of Israel.

Angered that secret files kept by the Anti-Defamation' League included the names of 4,500 of the American-Arab group's 30,000 members, the group's president, Albert Mokhiber, said in Washington.

"This case represents the greatest invasion of Arab-American civil'and constitutional rights that we have ever feared. The facts in this case far surpass even the greatest fears that we may have had about Israeli infiltration into American government, law enforcement and community activism."

Mokhiber said he has conferred with members of Congress about possible hearings by a House subcommittee chaired by Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.). The hearings would look into revelations by San Francisco prosecutors about a police and FBI investigation into

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law by disclosing the confidential material.

The Los Angeles regional director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Nazih Bayda, said Tuesday that the revelations undermine peoples faith that the police will protect them.

"It is of grave concern when this protective function of a law enforcement agency can be compromised by a private organization such as the Anti-Defamation Leggue to serve its espionage activities." Bayda said.

I ayda said the American-Arab group is examining the possibility of bringing civil lawsuits against the Anti-Defamation League.

"It is our sincere hope that Jewish-American organizations will speak out against the Anti-Defamation League involvement and will join forces with us to put an end to these illegal and dangerous practices," Mokhiber said.

# SPY: Group Wants Investigation of ADL Network

Continued from A3

the Anti-Defamation League's spying operation.

"Our own organization and membership was spied upon and infiltrated by persons passing themselves off as sincerely interested in the issues of civil and human fights," Mokhiber said.

Commenting on Mokhiber's statements, David Lonrer, the Anti-Defamation League's regional director in Los Angeles, said:

of two don't monitor groups or individuals on the basis of their race, religion or ethnicity. We do have every right to educate ourselves and the public about what critics of Israel say and write. We have done so for decades and we will continue to do so."

The San Francisco inquiry has focused on allegations that the Anti-Defamation League obtained information on as many as 12,000 individuals from appolice undercover agents, who may have violated the

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# Respect Free Speech, but Note the Words

■ Extremists: Keeping track of them is a public service; Americans should know what's in their midst.

#### By DAVID A. LEHRER

"Five People Killed at New York's World Trade Center," "Shootout at a Cult Retreat Near Waco, Tex." The headlines are grim reminders of the precariousness of our open democratic society. A handful of terrorists disrupts a city, religious zeal-ots terrorize a small town and both hypnotize a nation.

It is at times like these that the importance of the Anti-Defamation League's fait-finding operation becomes more apparent than ever. During calmer times, society can comfortably ignore the crucial need for monitoring extremists, but not today.

As police were sifting through the rubble at the World Trade Center, one hoped that they had clues as to which groups in the area might have a propensity for violence, which ones might have been involved. Indeed, police quickly developed investigative theories, based on research, as to which individuals had espoused the brand of political extremism that could have led to the wanton murder of innocent people.

In Texas, cult experts had documentation on what the Branch Davidians had previously said and done and an understanding of their modus operandi.

Understanding the nature and methods of extremists is the obligation of all Americans, not just law enforcement. If the general public is unable to reject the blandishments of bigots and those who exist on the fringes of our political landscape, law enforcement will be of little help, other than as a cleanup crew.

The ADL has worked for decades to educate the public about the threats posed by extremist groups. Our reports, books and other material document, in careful detail, groups—on the right and on the left—that are potential sources of danger to our democracy and its fragile fabric.

The reports are widely disseminated to the media, law enforcement, research institutions and the general public and have been critically important in alerting the public to imminent threats.

From the skinhead youth gangs to the far right's paramilitary training camps to successful litigation against the racist leaders Tom and John Metzger, the ADL's systematic gathering of data—noting the words and deeds of those who manifest a contempt for democracy and its processes—has proved invaluable.

The history of the 20th Century amply demonstrates the impact of words—the frenzy to which throngs can be raised with a demagogue's oratory. The First Amendment does not mandate that Americans ignore the threats that other nations have learned to take seriously. Words need not be treated as ephemera to be heard and, by fiat, forgotten. The Founding Fathers understood both the majesty and the impact

of free speech, and so does the ADL.

The right to speech must be respected, but so must the right to note it and subject it to critical analysis.

For the past decade and a half, to correct abuses of the past, civil-libertarian groups have succeeded in limiting the ability of law-enforcement agencies to collect information on individuals. The recent attacks against the ADL implies that private organizations should also be restricted from keeping information. The ADL's effort to monitor extremists is deemed "spying" by some civil libertarians.

Although misconduct by law enforcement and harassment of private citizens from any sector—public or private—must be stopped, it is increasingly necessary for the body politic to to be aware of violence-prone extremist groups. If law enforcement and, by extension, private organizations, are prevented from educating themselves and the public, we lose a valuable weapon in maintaining public safety.

We will become a society devoid of memory. In effect, history will begin anew each day. When a World Trade Center explodes, research and analysis will begin the day after, not years before.

Our society undoubtedly needs protection from invasions of our privacy and overzealous and invasive law-enforcement agencies, but the Constitution does not mandate collective amnesia or ignorance by public or private organizations.

David A. Lehrer is regional director of the Anti-Defamation League in Los Angeles.

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### Class Action it Accuses DL Spy Ring

BY KENNETH REICH

Nincteen, people, who claim that an Anti-Defamation, League spy, network violated their, privacy, rights, including the wife of former, Rep. Peter McCloskey and the son, of former Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens, filed a class action lawsuit Wednesday against the group and two undercover oper.

atives. The suit, which relies on a priva ine suit, which renes on a priva-icy provision in the California Con-stitution, seeks \$2500 in damages for each person on whom the Anti-Defamation League obtained confidential police information said McCloskey, the lawyer for the

plaintiffs.

McCloskey, a critic of Israeli
policies when he ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate in 1982. questioned whether the ADL is an agency of the Israeli government. If it is he said it should register as

a foreign agent. David Lehrer, the ADL's region al director, in Los Angeles, said

ADL attorneys were reviewing the lawsuit and would comment today.

The lawsuit, filed in San, Francisco Superfor Court; is the first civil action arising from an investicavil action arising in organical control of the spy operation by the land rrancisco Police Department and the FBI.

The suit named Roy Bullock

who told police he has been paid to spy for the ADL for 40 years, and former San Francisco Police Offi cer Tom Gerard

newspaper, city and state.)

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 12-1-94 BY SPISBOOM

### IT: Civil Claim Filed Over ADL Spy Network

Confinued from A3 Also, on Wednesday, Iry Rubin, national chairman of the Jewish Defense League, said he was shocked to learn that his group had also been subject to spying by the

AllLa AllLa Il'm not sorry the Anti-Defama tich League has looked into the Jegitimate enemies of the Jewish people," said Rubin, who is not a plaintiff in the lawsuit and who made a separate statement. "But when we hear that they have also investigated the ACLU, Mills College, the NAACP and a host of others including us ... then we feel groups of people to try to get me

Colin Edwards said he was fired from a job as a commentator on a San Francisco FM radio station.
KALW after his boss told him the group had protested his Middle Eastern commentaries.

McCloskey said: "Legally there is nothing wrong with the Anti-Defamation League collecting newspaper clippings and so forth. But they cross over the line into illegality when they obtain government information that they know, or should know, is confiden-

it's time for it to close its doors."

McClockey said most of the plaintiffs believe that their careers plaintiffs believe that their careers have been compromised by ADL attacks on them after they made anti-Israel statements. Two people joining; the suit who, spoke Wednesday are former television and radio commentators.

Donald McGaffin, a former, commentator at San Francisco televis slon station KPIX; said that after he questioned Israeli policy on negotiating with hijackers in 1985, he was informed by his manage ment that the ADL had sent

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NATIONAL CRIME INFORMATION CENTER (NCIC) - VICTIM; COMPUTER FRAUD AND ABUSE; OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

FOR INFORMATION OF THE BUREAU AND LOS ANGELES, ON APRIL 8, 1998, OFFICERS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO POLICE DEPARTMENT (SFPD) AND THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA FRANCHISE TAX BOARD,

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PAGE TWO DE FBISF ØØØ2 3 E C R E T

EXECUTED SEARCH WARRANTS AT OFFICES OF THE ANTI-DEFAMATION

LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH (ADL) IN LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO.

THE SEARCH WARRANTS WERE OBTAINED BY THE SFPD. THE AFFIDAVITS FOR THE WARRANTS WERE COMPRISED IN PART OF FBI INFORMATION WHICH SAN FRANCISCO HAS SHARED WITH SFPD IN THE COURSE OF CAPTIONED INVESTIGATION. SAN FRANCISCO WAS ADVISED OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE WARRANTS ONLY A SHORT TIME BEFORE THEIR EXECUTION. FBI AGENTS DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE SEARCHES, NOR WAS THERE ANY REQUEST FOR FBI ASSISTANCE.

AS THE BUREAU AND LOS ANGELES ARE AWARE, INVESTIGATIONS SURROUNDING CAPTIONED SUBJECTS HAVE GENERATED INTENSE MEDIA AND PUBLIC INTEREST, GIVEN THE NATURE OF THE ACTIVITIES IN WHICH THEY ARE ALLEGED TO HAVE ENGAGED. EXECUTION OF THE ABOVE WARRANTS WILL HEIGHTEN THAT INTEREST.

SAN FRANCISCO HAS RECEIVED A BRIEF REPORT FROM SFPD CONCERNING ITEMS TAKEN IN THE SEARCHES. ONLY A SMALL AMOUNT OF MATERIAL WAS TAKEN FROM THE LOS ANGELES ADL OFFICE. INCLUDED WERE SOME CHECK STUBS AND INTERNAL ADL MEMOS. NOTABLY NOT FOUND IN LOS ANGELES WAS AN FRI REPORT ON THE NATION OF ISLAM, THE ADL'S POSSESSION OF WHICH HAS PREVIOUSLY CAUSED THE OPENING OF AN FRI INVESTIGATION IN LOS ANGELES.

#### PAGE THREE DE FBISF ØØØ2 S E C R E T

FINANCIAL RECORDS WERE ALSO SOUGHT AT THE SAN FRANCISCO
ADL OFFICE. SFPD ALSO OBTAINED THERE IS SOME INTERNAL ADL
DOCUMENTS CONCERNING ADL'S EFFORTS TO OBTAIN CONFIDENTIAL LAW
ENFORCEMENT INFORMATION FROM THE PORTLAND POLICE DEPARTMENT.
SFPD NOTED IN THE SAN FRANCISCO ADL OFFICE NUMEROUS
INVESTIGATIVE REPORTS WHICH WERE WRITTEN BY SUBJECT
(AND SIGNED USING HIS CODE NAME \_\_\_\_\_. SFPD REVIEWED THOSE,
AND SEIZED THEM ONLY IF THEY APPEARED TO CONTAIN CONFIDENTIAL
LAW ENFORCEMENT INFORMATION. SFPD OBSERVED, HOWEVER, THAT THE
ADL HAD TAKEN THE TROUBLE TO TRY TO INK OUT OR OTHERWISE
OBSCURE THE NAME \_\_\_\_\_\_ FROM THE REPORTS.

NOTED BY SFPD IN BOTH THE LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO ADL OFFICES WERE FILES ON A NUMBER OF PROMINENT PEOPLE.

INCLUDED WERE FILES ON MEMBERS OF THE U.S. CONGRESS, OTHER CALIFORNIA AND NATIONAL POLITICAL FIGURES, AND ENTERTAINERS.

SOME OF THESE FILES WERE SEIZED BY SFPD.

THE SAN FRANCISCO DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE IS UNSEALING
THE AFFIDAVITS USED TO OBTAIN THE ABOVE SEARCH WARRANTS.
SINCE, AS STATED ABOVE, THESE AFFIDAVITS CONTAIN SOME FBI
INFORMATION, RECIPIENTS MAY BE ALERT FOR ADDITIONAL REQUESTS



PAGE FOUR DE FBISF 0002 S E C R E T

FOR INFORMATION BY THE MEDIA AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

SAN FRANCISCO WILL SEEK TO OBTAIN MORE DETAILS ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE ABOVE SEARCHES, AND WILL DISSEMINATE PERTINENT RESULTS.

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# ADL tries damage control

# Reports of national spy network denied

By Ron Soble
Daily News Staff Writer

In an effort to control damage to its reputation as a watchdog of hate groups, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith officials denied Friday that the organization is directing; a national spy network.

"ADL does not run a nationwide spy network of operatives who run around and collect information from law enforcement officials or otherwise," said Barbara S. Wahl, the organization's chief counsel, in an interview Friday.

"Ninety-nine percent of the information we get is publicly available," she said.

The issue of ADL operatives gathering covert information surfaced in a lengthy affidavit released last week by the San Francisco District Attorney's Office.

The document laid out a road map of intrigue involving the FBI and the San Francisco Police Department. Both agencies are investigating accusations that art dealer and longtime ADL investigator Roy Bullock and former police Officer Tom Gerard gathered confidential information from police and government files.

According to the document and prosecutors, the information on individuals and organizations ranging across the political spectrum ended up in ADL files.

According to court documents, the ADL for years disguised payments to Bullock, its West Coast operative, by funneling payments through Beverly Hills attorney Bruce I. Hochman, a former president of the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles.

In the course of its investigation, San Francisco police, have twice searched ADL offices in that city and Los Angeles, the last time last Officials defend ADL files

ADL / From Page 4

week, officials said.

According to court documents, questions are being raised about the legality of the ADL's information-gathering methods.

The Washington, D.C.-based Wahl and the ADL's national chairman, Melvin Salberg of New York, flew to California this week to counter stories that the ADL maintains covert operations in a number of American cities, particularly San Francisco and Los Angeles.

The ADL, founded in 1913, is known for its efforts to combat anti-Semitism and other hate crimes. The New York-based group has a staff of about 400 and an annual budget of about \$32 million, according to Salberg.

On Eriday, ADL officials met with reporters to defend the role of their organization in gathering information.

ADL attorney Wahl said that the organization does keep files, but that there is nothing particularly clandestine about them. "We have files just like any ongoing business," she said.

At the same time, she said: "We also have tipsters who provide information on an anonymous basis... We cannot talk about sources just like journalists cannot talk about sources."

She called Bullock "an independent contractor (who received) payments through Hochman" to protect Bullock's anonymity.

Salberg recalled meeting with San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith and his staff about six weeks ago, and said that he was "assured that ADL was not a target of the (District Attorney's) investigation."

Now, said Salberg and Wahl, it appears that ADL is a target of the investigation.

"We had no idea this was coming? Salhers said: Indicate page, name of Los Awkeles newspaper, city and state.) DAILY NEWS

Date: 4/17/93

Edition:

Title:

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seven major cities across the country. No charges havebeen brought in the case and the investigation is

continuing.

Last week; prosecutors released; a lengthy police interview with Bullock in which he said he had been; an investigator for the ADL for nearly 40 years. His bayment≟currently/\$550 a week≟was funneled through a Beverly Hills attorney who is honorary vice chairman of the ADL's Southern California region; decording to police files.

MoUntil now. Anti-Defamation League officials have not been willing to acknowledge that Bullock worked for them. But Friday, Wahl and National Chairman Melvin Salberg said that Bullock was an independent

contractor for the organization.

They said he gathered intelligence on his own with dittle supervision, and they contended that the files sejzed by police from Bullock's home were not

Anti-Defamation League records.

He's never been instructed, nor did we condone, his breaking of the law," Wahl said." We don't know if he did. We had no knowledge of him going through The trash [of target groups] and we certainly wouldn't have encouraged him to do that kind of thing.

The office of San Francisco Dist Atty. Arlo Smith, The office of Danys rancisco Display an ADL employ-however, maintains that Bullock was an ADL employge, who collected the information on behalf of the organization. Prosecutors consider the documents seized from his home to be ADL files and note that amany copies of his data were found in ADL offices with Bullock has long been one of the ADL's best investigators, Wahl said, and was recently dispatched to Germany to investigate the skinhead movement there.

"He was damn good .... He continues to do good work, she said I liken him to a kind of Information junkie who seems to have sucked up everything he found and put reports into computers. "And whether they were ever used again, who knows?"

The ADL has a "small number of investigators based around the United States operating on the same basis as Bullock, Wahl said. She would not discuss any details of the intelligence-gathering operation but said it does not constitute a "nationwide spy network.

Bullock and former San Francisco Police Officer,

Tom Gerard have been accused of providing intelligence information from Anti-Defamation League files to agents of the South African government but Wahl

said that had nothing to do with the ADL.

She acknowledged that on occasion the organization. provides information to Israel but otherwise does not have any idealings with foreign governmelits liewe have no formal relationship or even informal ongoing relationship with any foreign country, she said.

Wahl questioned why the Anti-Defamation/League has become a target of the investigation when others including police officers who allegedly passed infor mation to Bullock, have not been targeted. It seems to us that the ADL is really a very bit player in this drama that's unfolding in San Francisco and we have lots of questions as to why we're being targeted,"she said.

Salberg, whose offices are in New York, added ... I find it difficult; extremely difficult and painful; to view what is going on in San Francisco without asking Why is this happening? What's the motivation?

In San Francisco, Dist. Atty: Smith said Friday the Anti-Defamation League is just one of the targets in

probe. From the beginning, Gerard and Bullock have been the central focus of this investigation, he said "However, you take your investigation where the facts lead you."

Smith said his office may not have the authority to pursue allegations against police officers outside of San Francisco, but evidence of alleged misconduct has been passed on to the appropriate agencies, including the Los Angeles Police Department and the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department

Investigators have accused the Anti-Defamation League of withholding documents during a voluntary search last fall. Police said the used search warrants and found the items in a search of ADL offices las

week in Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Wahl insisted that the organization is cooperating and would provide any documents requested by prosecutors. "It is wrong It is dead wrong It is erroneous. It is false," she said. "There is not one thing they asked for that we failed to provide them.

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ADL Officials Deny They Condoned Illegal Spying

linquiry: But the organization acknowledges having investigator on payroll. An internal probe is under way.

By RICHARD C PADDOCK And KENNETH REICH

Mounting their first detailed defense against allegations of illegal spying officials of the Anti-Defamation League sought-Friday to distance themselves from a controversial longtime investigator but acknowledged they, were still pay; ing him because he is "damn good."

Barbara S. Wahl, attorney for the Jewish civil rights group, also said the organization is conducting its own investigation into charges that the San Francisco operative, Roy Bullock, illegally spied on a wide range of political activists and organizations.

switch? !! Wahl sald in an interview !!! don't know, but we're

The Anti-Defamation League, established 80 years ago to combat anti-Semitism and bigotry, has been racked by allegations that Bullock collected information illegally from law enforcement sources on at least 1,394 people. By monitoring various publications working under cover and looking through trash cans. Bullock amassed files on nearly 10,000 people and more than 950 political groups.

San Francisco authorities allege that Bullock was part of an intelligence network operated by the Anti-Defamation League in at least

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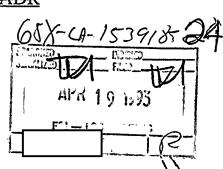
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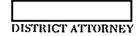
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#### DISTRICT ATTORNEY





ROBERT M. PODESTA CHIEF ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY

#### SAN FRANCISCO

880 BRYANT STREET, SAN FRANCISCO 94103 TEL. (415) 553-1752 March 30, 1993

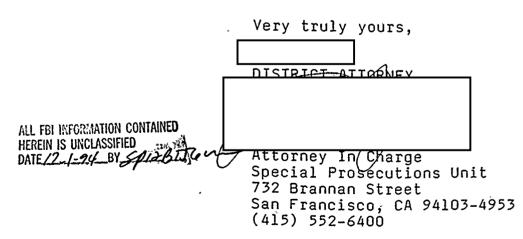
San Francisco, CA 94110

U.S. Immigration & Naturalization Service Litigation Unit 300 North Los Angeles St., Rm. 8504 Los Angeles, CA 90012

RE: ADL INVESTIGATION

Gentlemen:

In the course of an ongoing investigation, the attached San Francisco Police Department memorandum has come to my attention. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please contact me.



JD/tgb/7777Z

Encl.

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# Memorandum

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To: Commanding Officer Special Investigation Division  From: Inspector	San Francisco Police Department		È
Date: Fri. 03/26/93  Subject: Contact With L.A.P.D. Detective  Confidential  Sir:  SECLASSIFIED BY SILLIFE ON LEVELOW DATE OF STREET SUBJECT ON 12-19.  In regards to the investigation, SFPD Case #921768428, I received a phone call from a person claiming to be a Detective from the Los Angeles Police Department on 12/11/92. Told me that he worked in the LAPD Anti-Terrorist Unit (A.T.D.). He further stated that he was the LAPD Anti-Defamation League liaison officer. said that he had heard that I was in Los Angeles on 12/10/92 and that I in fact searched the L.A. ADL office. To authenticate this call, I asked his phone number and his commanding officer's name. replied that his number was and his commanding officer was Capt. with the phone number of In the information that was confiscated from the L.A. ADL office and would like to assist me in the investigation. He stated that if possible he would like to come to San Francisco and meet me over dinner or a few drinks so we could discuss the case. At this point I felt that this was highly unusual, as just the day before, I was in Los Angeles, and after asking for assistance from LAPD, Insp. and I did not get the expected cooperation that was anticipated (from LAPD). At this point I told that I did not need his assistance, to which he said he would call me back another time. I notified Capt. of this contact with  Since that first call from he has called at least three times, each time offering his services to assist me. On each occasion he offered to come up and meet over a meal or drinks to discuss the case.	To: Commanding Officer APPROVED	YES	P) NO
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in the information that was confiscated from the L.A. ADL office and would like to assist me in the investigation. He stated that if possible he would like to come to San Francisco and meet me over dinner or a few drinks so we could discuss the case. At this point I felt that this was highly unusual, as just the day before, I was in Los Angeles, and after asking for assistance from LAPD, Insp. and I did not get the expected cooperation that was anticipated (from LAPD). At this point I told that I did not need his assistance, to which he said he would call me back another time. I notified Capt. of this contact with Since that first call from the has called at least three times, each time offering his services to assist me. On each occasion he offered to come up and meet over a meal or drinks to discuss the case.  On 02/23/93 I was contacted by FBI S/A who told me that a Federal deportation trial was being conducted in Los	In regards to the investigation, SFPD Cas #921768428, I received a phone call from a person claiming a Detective from the Los Angeles Police Department 12/11/92. Told me that he worked in the LAPD Anti-Terrorist Unit (A.T.D.). He further stated that he was Anti-Defamation League liaison officer. said that heard that I was in Los Angeles on 12/10/92 and that I in searched the L.A. ADL office. To authenticate this call his phone number and his commanding officer's name replied that his number was and his	ng to be ment on i- the LAPs t he had n fact , I asked	D d
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Angeles and the eight defendants were suspected of being	On 02/23/93 I was contacted by FBI S/A who	o told : Los	me

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the Liberation of Palestine. S/A said that attorneys for the defense claimed that these subjects may have been listed in ADL files that were confiscated in a search warrant served at the residence of ADL employee I checked the names and found two listed in the files and a third possibly referenced in these files. This information was relayed to S/A who told me he would contact the U.S. Attorney handling the case. I found out that a Judge Einhorn was hearing this case, and it was alleged that Judge Einhorn was connected to the Anti
Defamation League.
The next day, 02/24/93, called my office and left a message. I returned his call on 02/25/93 and left a message in his office. Later that day he called me saying that he was off-duty in Palm Desert began to talk about the L.A. deportation trial and said that he knows Judge Einhorn well and the judge is connected in some way with the ADL told me that Judge Einhorn paged him twice yesterday in regards to this case told me that he knows Judge Einhorn because he had to notify the judge about a veiled threat against him said that in this threat someone on the W.A.K. hotline made reference to the judge said that in his duties in the Anti-Terrorist Unit he routinely investigates threats such as these. In his recent conversation with Judge Einhorn, the judge told in reference to his ties with the ADL: "I consider myself quite the Nazi hunter".
After the this conversation with I notified Asst.  D.A. On 03/17/93 investigators from LAPD came and met with our office on this investigation. At that time I notified Lt. Det. and Det. (all from LAPD) of the above developments. It is recommended that this information be forwarded to the U.S. Attorney's Office and

Respectfully Submitted,



### Anti-Defamation League Spying

When I heard about the spy operations of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), I didn't think much of it at first. That is until I received a letter earlier this month from the San Francisco Police Department informing me that files under my name were confiscated from the home of a police officer recruited by the ADL.

In targeting Arabs and Muslims indiscriminately and without any reasonable cause, the ADL has shown itself to be a paranoid organization bent on creating enemies to justify its own existence. Many of us who are on the ADL list have long worked to alleviate the mistrust that exists between Muslims and Jews, and have worked hand in hand with them on common causes, including the ADL-sponsored "A World of Difference" campaign. Personally, I feel stabbed in the back. This is an organization dedicated to fighting discrimination?

It is ironic that the ADL would be spying and keeping files on Arabs and Muslims whom it deems to be hostile or dangerous. Surely the organization is old enough to remember a time when similar lists and files were kept on Jews who were considered to be dangerous as well. It seems that instead of building bridges between Jews and Muslims, the ADL is more interested in tearing them down and building walls.

SHAHED AMANULLAH Muslim Public Affairs Council Los Angeles

■ Your editorial "A Line Never to Be Crossed" (April 14) with regard to the Anti-Defamation League was, for the most part, right on target.

As you correctly noted, "it is no surprise that the ADL has kept close tabs on individuals and groups of all stripes that trade in hate or violence. ..." Indeed, for decades reports of the Anti-Defamation League have served as background material for The Times as well as countless other journalists, legislators and the public.

Where your editorial goes astray is

imputing to the Anti-Defamation League the collecting of information on groups such as the NAACP, television station KQED, Times correspondent Scott Kraft, et al. In the frenzy to report allegations and information from an affidavit made public by the San Francisco district attorney's office, few reporters have bothered to distinguish between material from the files of the Anti-Defamation League and that taken from the homes of Roy Bullock and Tom Gerard.

In fact the files on the NAACP, KQED, Greenpeace, Scott Kraft, etc., were not ADL files. We have never investigated such responsible and respected organizations and individuals. As we have made clear, to your reporters and to others, ADL has not passed any information to the government in South Africa at any time, nor have we ever instructed anyone else to do so on our behalf.

Your concerns about misuse of information are our concerns. For 80 years we have worked to live up to our mandate to "stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment for all citizens alike."

We have never been successfully sued for liable, defamation, or in any other way violating the trust of the American people that we have assiduously earned.

You can be assured that ADL has never and will never cross the line that "separates gathering information on defamers and gathering information that could be used to embarrass or defame others."

DAVID A. LEHRER Regional Director Anti-Defamation League Los Angeles Date:
Edition: Editorial Page, letters to
editor.

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# BULLOCK: ADL Agent Defends Actions

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No charges have been filed in the case, but the district attorney's office has released nearly 700 pages of investigative documents and alleged that the Anti-Defamation League maintained a nationwide intelligence network to gather information on political groups.

The Anti-Defamation League, which has launched a public relations campaign to counter the allegations, denies that its information gathering constitutes a spy network and contends that much of what Bullock did was on his own.

The stocky, brown-haired Bull-ock told authorities that he began collecting information for the Anti-Defamation League as a volunteer nearly 40 years ago in Indiana. When he moved to California in 1960, the group signed him up as an investigator and has paid him surreptitiously every week for the past 33 years.

Bullock said that over the years he was given specific assignments by the league to infiltrate about 30 Arab-American, right-wing and left-wing groups. Among them were the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, American Nazi Party, John Birch Society and Minutemen.

Infiltrating groups is not difficult, Bullock said, especially the

right-wing organizations.

"They live in a dark, restricted world of their own fervent imaginations," he said. "You say you agree and they fall all over you. You don't have to say much."

As a member of the groups, Bullock said, he followed strict, rules set by the Anti-Defamation League never make a proposal for action and never make a statement that could be misconstrued.

Bullock said he generally stayed in the background, said little and did not take part in activities characteristics, that eventually marked him as an informer. But with an easygoing manner and a good sense of humor, he often was accepted for years.

Bullock, 58, acknowledged that such activities made him a spy, but said he prefers to think of himself as an investigator. With a great appetite for information, he worked steadily over the years gathering other information that might someday be useful to the Anti-Defamation League.

"I love research," said Bullock, who is paid \$550 a week by the

Anti-Defamation League.

He scanned obscure publications, attended demonstrations and listened to speeches, making note of people who might be of concern to the league. He also collected confidential information about many of these people from police sources around the West.

In this way, he amassed files in his computer on more than 950 groups and nearly 10,000 people. He said he passed along some of the data—including confidential police information—to the Anti-Defamation League; he also traded some data to law enforcement agencies for more information.

"Certainly the league wanted me to look at certain individuals or organizations," he said. "But of 10,000 names in the computer, the league might have asked me spe-

cifically about 2%."

Prosecutors contend that those files, including information on such groups as Greenpeace, San Francisco television station KQED and Mills College, are the files of the Anti-Defamation League. In a sharp disagreement with authorities, Bullock and the league contend that they are Bullock's personal files.

Bullock said he had begun collecting information on the antiapartheid movement for the Anti-Defamation League when he and his close friend Gerard were approached by South African agents who wanted to buy information. Bullock repackaged some of his reports to the Anti-Defamation League, gathered other information from public sources and sold it to the two foreign agents, receiving about \$8,000 over a four-year period.

Bullock told the FBI last year that the Anti-Defamation League had put him in contact with a South African agent. But later he told authorities that he lied about the South African connection to protect Gerard, who made the initial contact, according to San Francisco court files.

Despite his contempt for the "odious" system of apartheid, Bullock said he agreed to provide information to South Africa because he needed the money. "I don't feel I did anything dishonest or underhanded," he said."

Bullock said his work for South Africa was the only time he provided information to any group other than the Anti-Defamation League or a law enforcement agency.

The only time he was paid by a law enforcement agency for information, he said, was when FBI agents gave him \$500—which he used in part to buy them lunch.

In fact, Bullock prides himself on his good working relationship with officers in 10 law enforcement agencies—including the Los Angeles Police Department—who know him as an Anti-Defamation League investigator and trade information with him.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21; 1993

# Infiltrated 30 Groups, ADL Figure Says

**ESpying:** Roy Bullock admits selling information to South Africa was wrong but insists he never acted dishonestly.

By RICHARD C. PADDOCK

SAN FRANCISCO—Roy Bullock, the controversial West Coast investigator for the Anti-Defamation League said Tuesday that he infiltrated about 30 political groups as part of his duties but never did anything dishonest or underhanded.

anything dishonest or underhanded.

In his first detailed press interview, Bullock acknowledged that it was a mistake for him to sell information on the side to South Africa—including a report on liberal Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Berkeley). It was not the most political thing to do," he said.

Engaging, well-spoken and modest, Bullock re-

Engaging, well-spoken and modest, Bullock revealed some of his tricks for infiltrating right-wing organizations and said he gathered information on nearly 10,000 people in a personal quest to fight bigotry and anti-Semitism. "I believed in what I was doing," he said.

But stung by charges of illegal spying. Bullock questioned why he and the Anti-Defamation League are the subjects of a criminal investigation by San Francisco authorities—especially given his long history of working closely with police departments up and down the state.

down the state.
"This case has been more a campaign of vilification," he said: "Why are they doing it? Why? Why?"

San Francisco Dist. Atty. Arlo Smith is investigating whether Bullock and officials of the Anti-Defamation League violated state law by collecting confidential information on at least 1,394 political activists and private citizens.

Authorities also are looking into former San Francisco Police Officer Tom Gerard, who allegedly provided Bullock with restricted information, including home addresses, physical descriptions, vehicle information and criminal histories. Gerard fled to the Philippines last fall after he was questioned by the FBI.

Please see BULLOCK, A16

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San Diego lawyer and University of California regent John G. Dayies of Morgan, Lewis & Bockius said any suggestion Hochman was mixed up in illegal intelligence gathering is preposterous.

gence gathering is preposterous.
"I've been in meeting after meeting with Bruce from 1983 through 1992," said Dayles, who coordinated federal judicial nominations for former Sens. Wilson and John Seymour: "I have the highest regard for his competence and integrity."

But the Los Angeles criminal defense lawyer who knows Hochman well, but who asked not to be identified, said he isn't surprised.

"He'd do it in a minute;" said the lawyer, who described Hochman as having an "avuncular" style. "He is kind of a knowit-all, smarter than anyone else."

Several close associates of Hochman's did not return telephone messages seeking comment. They include Judge Real, who worked with Hochman at the U.S. attorney's office; U.S. District Judge Steven Wilson, a former law partner nominated for the federal bench by Gov. Wilson; and attorney's Martin Gelsand and Brian Hennigan, who recently left Hochman's firm Hochman, Salkin and DeRoy Inc. of Beverly Hills.

#### Limited Contact

The documents released in the case suggest Hochman has had limited contact with investigators since his name surfaced during an FBI interview with Bullock Jan. 25 and Jan. 26.

According to one page of handwritten notes, made by an investigator during a March 1 telephone conversation with Hochman, he said he never met Bullock in person; that the payments were funneled through a personal account of his, and that his law partners knew nothing of the enterprise.

"Roy [Bullock] would penetrate organizations and needed this arrangement to be distanced from ADL;" the investigator reported Hochman said.

Hochman also sent San Francisco Police Inspector Ron Roth a three-line letter dated April 1 and a copy of an ADL check for \$3,300 written to Hochman. The letter states that the money is to pay for Bullock's services during April and May.

Dwyer said bank records relating to the accounts used to pay Bullock were collected in a second round of search warrants executed in San Francisco and Los Angeles this month.

Though Hochman is a staunch supporter of the ADL's efforts to combat racism and anti-Semitism, he is not likely to hold back information as the investigation's spotlight turns on him, if past statements are any indication.

In 1985, when the Jewish Council Federation he headed was planning to beef up the group's newspaper, he swore it would maintain its editorial independence, even if the Jewish philanthropic and social-service groups it covers were to come in for criticism.

"It'll take a few months to cross the t's and dot the i's, but if the federation or one of its agencies of beneficiaries is to be criticized, it will be criticized, and nobody could call me to call off the dogs;" he told the Los Angeles Times.

# Legal Pow rbroker Surfacts in 'Spy' Case

#### Continued from Page 1

The arrangement — in which the ADL deposited money in a bank account controlled by Hochman, and Hochman wrote checks to Bullock — amounted to thousands of dollars a year. Since 1985 alone, Bullock received \$167,175, according to the documents released April 8 by the San Francisco district attorney.

John Dwyer, the assistant San Francisco district attorney who is the lead county prosecutor on the case, said Hochman is not likely to face any criminal charges and is potentially a key witness.

"He is not a suspect, and he has been very cooperative," Dwyer said.

Hochman has not returned several phone calls seeking comment.

An attorney for the ADL in San Francisco said there is no evidence the organization or Hochman had any knowledge Bullock was illegally acquiring or selling information.

"There is nothing that I see that indicates what Bruce Hochman did in any way violates any laws," attorney Jerrold Ladar said.

Among Bullock's activities Ladar disavowed was Bullock's admitted peddling of information to South African agents—much of it related to anti-apartheid groups, but some of it as peculiar and seemingly useless as items taken from a newspaper column about Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu's relationship to San Francisco lawyer Melvin Belli and Belli's ex-wife, Lia.

Ladar's comments were among a spate of statements to reporters late last week that were the ADL's first official comment on the controversy. Group officials acknowledged Bullock was employed as "an independent contractor" by the 80-year-old Jewish defense and civil rights group, but portrayed him as a rogue who strayed far from his assignment, collecting information that was of no interest to the ADL.

The focus of the criminal probe, which became public in January, is on ADL operatives illegally obtaining law enforcement information from local police agencies and on the police officers who supplied it.

Law Enforcement Links Probed

The ADL-Hochman link to Bullock, 58, and Bullock's dealings with a San Francisco police intelligence officer, Tom Gerard, 50, who has fled to the Philippines, is considered the prototype of the kind of operation authorities are pursuing nationwide, Dwyer said.

The documents released this month—affidavits, interview transcripts, bank records and letters relating to search warrants executed in the Bay Area and Los Angeles—name ADL officials, spies and informants, and local police officers in San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Portland, Ore., Chicago, New York, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta.

"One piece of information sends us in a dozen new directions," Dwyer said.

As the investigation unfolds, however, the ADL and such influential members as Hochman, an honorary national vice president, are sure to face tough questions about the group's intelligence gathering, regardless of whether any criminal charges are filed.

Toronto-born Bruce Irwin Hochman received his undergraduate and law de-

grees from the University of California at Los Angeles before joining the U.S. attorney's office in the early 1950s.

As an attorney, however, he began building his reputation a few years later, after he set up shop as a tax and defense lawyer in Beyerly Hills — before it became a fashionable business address—and started representing people accused of financial or tax-related crimes.

"He minted money from the start," said one Los Angeles criminal defense lawyer who knows Hochman well. "For years now, he has had the right of first refusal on any tax-fraud case coming down the pike."

In a recent case that drew attention, Hochman defended an Imperial County farmer who paid \$650,000 in bribes to an Internal Revenue Service auditor as part of a scheme to evade \$10 million in taxes.

In 1991, he handled appeals for an investment banker whose company underwrote a \$300 million tax-exempt housing bond issue for the Guam Economic Development Authority. The IRS determined that the debt was sold solely to generate fees and arbitrage, not to build housing.

During the late 1980s, his clients included composer Dominic Frontiere, husband of Los Angeles Rams owner Georgia Frontiere; an Encino real estate developer who fraudulently inflated the value of land sold to the National Park Service; and a North Hollywood businessman who ran a bogus tax-shelter investment plan with thousands of investors, including majorleague baseball players.

Wide Influence

And Hochman's successes as a private attorney and fund-faiser won him broad influence in legal and Jewish circles.

Among his posts and appointments: Sen. Wilson's committee that helped pick a record number of federal judges for the Central District of California during the Reagan presidency; Chief U.S. District Judge Manuel Real's standing committee on discipline; regional president of the ADL office for most of Southern California and Nevada; president of the umbrella organization Jewish Council Federation of Greater Los Angeles.

"There are very few people in the county of Los Angeles that command the respect Bruce does," said Los Angeles lawyer Sheldon Sloan of Resch Polster Alpert & Berger. "And as for the Jewish community, if there is anybody who could speak for it, Bruce could."

News of Hochman's role in the ADL's link to Bullock, who described himself in court papers as an ADL "spymaster," has generated reactions ranging from shock to bemusement within the Southern California legal community.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Phillip L.B. Halpern, who squared off against Hochman in the 1992 tax-bribery case involving the Imperial County farmer, said he was astounded.

"To suggest he was involved... is a great surprise," said Halpern, who described Hochman as an amiable insider adept at presenting his client's case to the government in the best light to try to head off prosecutions. "He is very precise and thorough. To think he would knowingly get involved in something like that—

# In the Middle

### Legal Powerbroker Surfaces in ADL 'Spy' Case

By Charles Finnle
Daily Journal Staff Writer

SAN FRANCISCO — As a lone Democrat on Republican Sen. Pete Wilson's eight-member advisory committee for federal court appointments, Beverly Hills attorney Bruce Hochman was a kingmaker of sorts within California's legal community during the 1980s.

For even longer, as an officer and fund-raiser for organizations such as the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Hochman, a top tax and criminal law specialist, carried considerable clout within Jewish and pro-Israel circles.

But a decision he participated in about 30 years ago as regional president of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith — to place a domestic operative by the name of Roy Bullock on the ADL's payroll and serve as the financial link between Bullock and the ADL — has come home to roost, putting the 64-year-old lawyer at the center of a controversy that threatens the ADL's special standing as an ardent foe of anti-Semitism and friend of U.S. law enforcement.

More than 700 pages of recently released documents relating to a criminal probe of the ADL's nation-wide information-gathering network spell out how Bullock, a San Francisco art dealer with the code name

"Cal," eavesdropped, spied and obtained from local police privileged, personal information on thousands of individuals and organizations across the political spectrum.

To be sure, Bullock's initial targets were racists and anti-Semites. But they expanded to include a variety of people and organizations such as former Bay Area Republican Rep. Pete McCloskey, Arab-American groups, Earth Island Institute, Mother Jones magazine and Jews for Jesus. Bullock also gathered information on an array of legal organizations such as the National Lawyers Guild, American Civil Liberties Union and Asian Law Caucus.

#### 'A Contract Worker'

"From very early in 1960, when I started getting pay, I got paid by him," Bullock said of Hochman in a January interview with FBI agents. "That way the league would not be officially connected with me.

"Officially I'm a contract worker with Bruce Hochman. Now the reason for this [is] because in that period I was very active in penetrating the American Nazi Party . . . you name it, a large variety of anti-democratic groups, left and right."

See Page 4 — POWERBROKER



IN THE SPOTLIGHT — Bruce Hochman, a tax lawyer and criminal defense specialist with a Beverly Hills firm, allegedly paid on behalf of the Anti-Defamation League of Brual British the investigator who spied on various organizations.

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Anti-Defamation League Activities

In an article on the "ADL spy network" (April! 17), the regional director of the Anti-Defamation. League was quoted as saying that the ADL has a "right to educate the public about what critics of Israel say and write." What he is implying is that Americans who criticize Israel are suspect.

I challenge the ADL to educate the public about what many respected and credible Jewish critics of Israel say and write Many Israels and American Jews are working hard to bring self-respect to Israel to pull it out of the scandal of its human rights violations and flouting of

international law.

In your editorial (April 14), you appropriately acknowledged the ADL's good works in combatting racism, and we join you in that Then you went on to express your understanding of why the ADL would surveil such groups as the KKK and the White Aryan Resistance but gently scolded them for collecting information on respectable organizations; such as the NAACP, Greenpeace, and the United Farm Workers, plus several members of Congress.

In the files seized by police from the ADL's offices, 4,500 of the 12,000 names contained in those files were names of Arab, Americans—clearly the principal target of the ADL's politically motivated spying. Yet, in your listing of the good guys," Arab Americans were conspicuously absent. Can you imagine how offensive and dangerous your implication is? While I would assume it was inadvertent, you have many readers who might not.

DONALD S. BUSTANY, President Amèrican-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Los Angeles

Orange County long admired the Anti-Defamation League for its purported purpose of exposing individuals and groups who threaten the ideals of our democratic American society. Our organization is based on principles of understanding the needs and yearnings of two disparate peoples closely related in their quest for peace, and searching for solutions related to the strug gles and strivings of their respective line in Israel/Palestine. Knowing we can flow the best in an open and free society, we we especially sensitive to any activities will threaten or inhibit such freedom.

Our members have long held the ADL in high esteem, above petty parasars in thin beyond immediate expediencies being a those manifested by seemingly less dealing tic organizations. We therefore are distressed to learn of alleged long-term activities of the ADL in its compilation of districtions with their own, we are especially disturbed to learn of covert sales in the foreign government of Israel

and South Africa:

We Cousins Club members the grey Jewish-Americans were par cularly proud of an organization which we thought scoke for the entire Jewish community in 1ts stated goals of exposing those woose pleposes are antithetical to the welfare of hoth Jews and non-Jews. Those of unity of hot Palestinian-Americans also held the ADI in high esteem, even using the action of hoth integrity upon which the Arab Anti-Discrimination League is based Out cishlitistic more acute by recent disclosures of allered secret activities of the ADI, which emulate organizations such as the John Birch Saciety and the Ku Klux Klan.

We urge the U.S. government of thoroughly investigate these alleged coveractivities. Further, we urge liabilities of make full disclosure of its second activities in twill cease and description fuel activities in the future.

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Reference telephone call between SSA and Los Angeles on 4/14/93. Reference San Francisco airtel dated

Referenced conversation discussed the change in title as indicated above, with SSA concurring with the title change as indicated. Referenced airtel requested a copy of document as contained within FBI files be provided to San Francisco.

For information of recipients, title has been changed to reflect the fact that the document found in the possession of the ADL was sensitive in nature, as it contained Bureau source information. Although contained within a classified file, the document itself was not classified.

Attached as enclosure is a copy of the document in question. It should be noted that the copy found in possession of the ADL had all T symbols blacked out, and did not include the cover airtel or the title page of the LHM.



(Indicate page, name of LA TIMES newspaper, city and state.)

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# D.A. Seeks Counsel of Arab-Americans

By KENNETH REICH TIMES STAFF WRITER

Dist. Atty. Gil Garcetti, in a get-acquainted meeting with 20 representatives of Los Angeles County's Arab-American community, promised Monday to be "extremely vigilant" against illegal spying on any minority group and said he wants to increase the number of Arab-American lawyers in his office.

Garcetti urged those attending at the Islamic Center of Southern California to advise him on what he can do to help bring their ethnic group into the mainstream.

But when the Los Angeles County district attorney characterized Arab-Americans as, in the past, "truly a silent group, much like gays and lesbians," two people chided him gently.

Wasfy W. Shindy, deputy director of the county's Environmental Toxicology Bureau, said that Arab-Americans long have had many

contacts with the county-supervisors and other local officials. And Maher Hathout, chairman of the Islamic Center, said: "We are too far out of the closet" to be considered silent.

Several people pressed him for details on how his office will cooperate with an inquiry by the San Francisco district attorney into alleged spying on Arab Americans and others by the Anti-Defamation League, a Jewish group.

Garcetti said he would be "constrained in some of my answers" because he did not want to read his comments in the newspaper.

But he added, "There is not a person in this room who is not offended by the type of spying that has been alleged," such as the possible illegal purchase of police undercover information.

When Garcetti was asked how many Arab-Americans he has on his staff of nearly 1,000 lawyers, he said he knew of two But he estimated that there may be six to

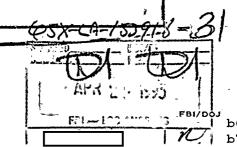
10. He noted that through intermarriage some people of Arab descent do not have Arab surnames.

"I want more Arab-American lawyers," the district attorney said. "But I can't be locked into commitments of proportionality."

Garcetti noted that while working as a deputy in the district attorney's office earlier in his legal career, he organized a minority recruitment program. He noted that he is of mixed ethnic descent himself, with a grandfather who was an Aztec Indian and a mother who was a Mexican national.

He grew up in a home where Spanish was spoken, his wife is Jewish and his children are uncertain how to describe themselves ethnically, Garcetti said.

"As district attorney, I have a responsibility to see there is justice in the whole community," he added



# Italy's Top Banker Heads Trans

By BOB DROGIN TIMES STAFF WRITER

PALAWAN Philippine Gerard the former San Fi officer who fled here after be passing confidential files to mation League, enjoyed a pr he traveled the world fo Intelligence Agenc

Among the many passp fake identity papers that undercover CIA agent from 1985 were five documents as Thomas P. Clouseau-Clouseau, the bumbling Fr in the Pink Panther films.

'I'm still surprised Centra the agency let that one slip t with a laugh. "A'little loke or But the 50-year-old form Francisco police inspector playing games. He says he

Politics: Respected 72-year-old says he will appoint a new Cabinet oday without consulting nation's parties.

BY WILLIAM D. MONTALBANO

OME Unable to reconcile the demands of bickering politicals parties, Italian President Oscar uigi Scalfaro on Monday asked the country's top banker to head a ransition government to adopt lectoral reform and schedule new lections

Carlo Azeglio Ciampi, 72; the prestigious head of the Bank of taly; accepted the offer to quickly orm a government, avoiding any acuum of power. The new Cabinet,

formal party support and therefore the hard-line; an no nominal majority in Parliament. that were one of

His political footing may there...; cesses; of Amato' fore; be shaky, but Clampi won support continuing quick support in the marketplace vestigations. Monday: The stock market rose in Long a cha Milan, and the lira firmed against foreign currencies.

In naming Clampi to head Italy's 52nd postwar government; Scalfaro sought a figure who could rule stably and with economic authority until national relections are held under new electoral rules per haps in the fall.

The choice of Ciampi, who has worked for Italy's central bank since 1946 and has been its president since 1979; was a clear signal, that Italy will pursue the economic rationalization forces of Ane of parting government of Prime Mi ister Giuliano Amato D

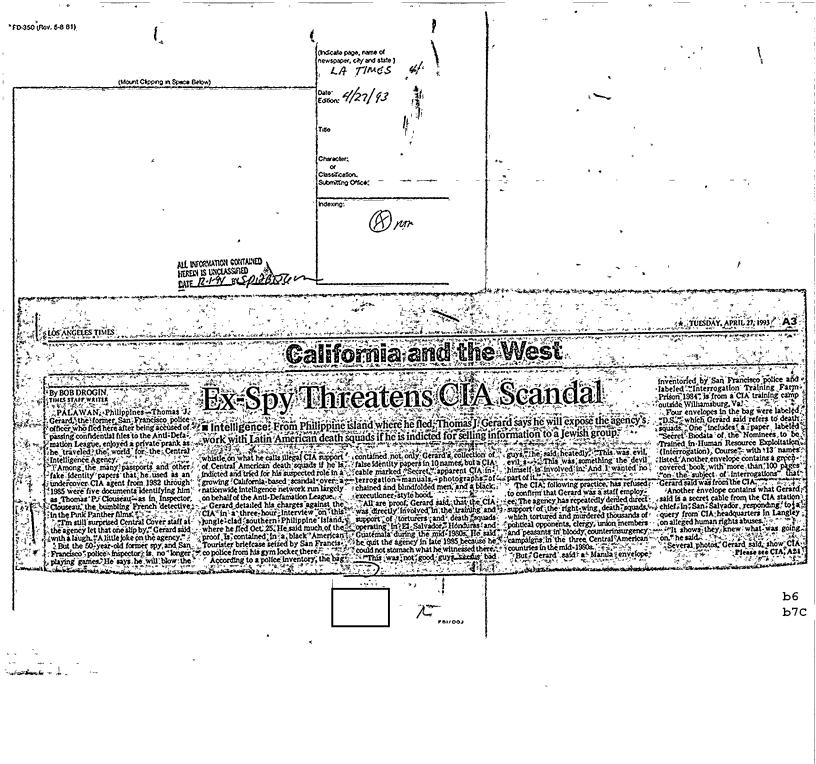
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tion between polit monetary authority pi may, under Italia prime minister Italy's central bank of the chairman Reserves in the serves for life.

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### CIA: Threat of Scandal

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agents attending interrogations, or posing with death squad members. He denied working with the death squads.

The briefcase also contained a black loose-leaf binder stuffed with business cards, names, addresses and three pages with more than 100 names and phone numbers. The section is titled "International Activities Division-Special Activities Group," according to the police inventory.

"That's the who's who" of the CIA, Gerard said. "Oooh, that's gonna make people nervous. Oooh."

The International Activities Division handles the CIA's paramilitary activities, such as support for guerrilla movements, according to "The U.S. Intelligence Community," a book by Jeffrey Richelson.

When he left the CIA in 1985, Gerard said, he stashed the hood, classified cable, photos and other material in the briefcase in case he ever needed protection from the CIA. "The term is graymail," he said grimly. "Do what you gotta do."

Asked why he was going public, Gerard complained that the FBI and the San Francisco police were trying him in the press by alleging that he gave confidential law enforcement and motor vehicle information to the Anti-Defamation League and sold information to South Africa for thousands of dollars.

Gerard denied any criminal wrongdoing. "I shouldn't say I did no wrong," he said. "I should say I showed poor judgment. . . . . But as far as criminal acts, no way."

Police say the Anti-Defamation League, a Jewish civil rights organization, secretly collected information on more than 12,000 individuals and 950 activist groups over the last several decades. The ADL acknowledges that it collects information on groups that are anti-Semitic, extremist or racist, but denies any improper activity.

The case involves Gerard's undercover work after he left the CIA, as a San Francisco police inspector in the department's now disbanded intelligence division. He has not been charged.

Gerard does not deny "snooping and pooping on people in the U.S.," as he put it, and working with Roy Bullock, a small-time San Francisco art dealer who told the FBI he infiltrated right-wing and Arab-American groups and prepared hundreds of secret files for the Anti-Defamation League.

Gerard said he and Bullook routinely rifled through bags of garbage they collected outside the homes of people affiliated with suspect political groups they jok-

ingly classified as "right-wing, left-wing and chicken-wing." "We were the kings of garbage," Gerard said. "I love garbage. Because garbage doesn't lie."

Gerärd said he first brought Bullock to the FBI in about 1986 after Bullock provided a file that helped San Francisco police find a deranged neo-Nazi who had bombed synagogues and African-American studies classrooms. Gerard said he told the FBI that Bullock was a secret investigator for the Anti-Defamation League and persuaded them to hire Bullock as a paid informant.

A spokesman for the FBI in San Francisco declined to comment on Gerard's assertion, but detailed court documents indicate that Bullock was a part-time informant for the FBI who collected one payment of \$500. In contrast, Bullock has been paid a regular stipend by the Anti-Defamation League since 1960—now \$550 a week.

Gerard now blames Bullock for setting him up as a fall guy in the investigation. Gerard said that he bought his IBM clone home computer from Bullock several years ago, "and when I got it all the files were already there."

Police, who seized the computer, said the program included files on 7,011 people and political groups, spanning the spectrum from right to left. Gerard expressed amazement at the figure, saying he only thought he had 300 or 400 such files.

"It doesn't matter," he added.
"I'm not suggesting I didn't know what was there." He said the files were mostly published information about right-wing groups, including

skinheads, neo-Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan. "It doesn't seem unreasonable to me to keep track of some loon who paints swastikas on synagogues," he said.

Bullock's attorney, Bob Breakstone, disputed Gerard's version of events and said it was "ludicrous" to believe that Bullock would enter the files in Gerard's computer without his knowledge. "He asked for it," Breakstone said Friday.

The attorney also said he was disappointed Gerard was trying to blame Bullock, noting that it was Gerard who introduced Bullock to a South African agent who allegedly purchased information from the duo.

"It's sad he has chosen to strike out at Roy, because Roy really likes Tom," Breakstone said.

Gerard also flatly denied Bullock's claim to police that the two began selling information to the South African government in 1987 and split about \$16,000 as payment for providing information on foes of apartheid and journalists, among others.

But he said he helped the South African consul general in Los Angeles several years ago and was given a coffee table book of wildlife photos in thanks.

Gérard said he does not know how of why a file filled with incorrect data on Scott Kraft, the Los Angeles Times correspondent based in South Africa, was apparently taken from his computer and jold to the white-ruled government.

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"I don't know anything about that," he said. "I'm not suggesting it wasn't in my computer. I don't know if it was."

Gerard also denied providing Bullock with driver's license records, including photographs, and complete files on various Nazi groups when the city ordered the police intelligence division disbanded and the files destroyed, as Bullock told the FBI.

But Gerard said he did share information from the files. "At the time the intelligence division shut down, there were things we were working on," he said. "That information went forth, not the files themselves."

Gerard was interviewed by FBI agents in San Francisco last October. He said they threatened him with "a lifestyle change" in prison if he did not cooperate. Instead, he hopped a flight to the Philippines, a country with which the United States has no extradition treaty. He sent his retirement papers to the Police Department in November.

Gerard said they also questioned him about overseas bank accounts. "Here's my only foreign bank account," he insisted, showing a Philippine bank passbook opened in March and now containing the peso equivalent of about \$1,200.

He said he earned about \$77,000 last year. That includes, he said, \$10-an-hour stints as a uniformed security guard for Philippine Airlines at the San Francisco International Airport and free-lance fees

for writing articles for two intelligence newsletters published in London and Paris.

He said the FBI is looking at 16 checks in his San Francisco bank account and last week interviewed one of his sons, a Marine, in Hawaii.

He called himself a "victim of circumstance," caught between the CIA, the FBI, the Anti-Defamation League and the San Francisco police. But then he grinned.

"Maybe I'm a good guy," he said.
"Maybe I'm a bad guy. Maybe I'm a
rogue elephant out of control."

Gerard said he "absolutely, no question" plans to return to Sausalito, where he and his wife, Julia, lived on a boat. He showed an open round-trip airline ticket. "People who are fugitives do not buy a round-trip ticket," he said.

In the meantime, Gerard is enjoying his life on Palawan, a rugged, hard-to-reach and heavily jungled island known in the Philippines as "the last frontier." It is about 300 miles south of Manila, and there are few phones or paved roads. Malaria is endemic, and crocodiles are fierce.

"I always loved this clandestine, s---," he said. "If you were a spy aficionado, you'd just love going through my stuff. I've collected if for years." Even better, he added his own story "is the kind of thin that sells spy novels."

"Here's a guy who worked for the CIA," he said. "Here's a kuy who ran a massive spy network in the U.S. Here's a guy who fled to a distant, Third World country."

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# SPY: ADL Defends Image

Confinued from A3 and Jewish remarks. Victims of the Holocaust are now stereotyp. ing people into categories based on

their ethnic or politically lews?"

Still, officials of several leading mainstream or ganizations listed in Bullock's files appear to merely be cultious about getting to the bottoms.

of the reports ?

"Iverseen the ADI tackle difficult is ocial lissues and generally
attempt to protect people's rights,
so Ilm's urprised," Mills College
President Janet McKay said. "But
I'd like to know more about the
relationship between the ADI and
the operatives that have been exposed before I make any judgment."

[James & Williams national spokesman for the National Assnitor the National Assnitor the Advancement of Colored People, said, "Certainly, we want to look into the allegations, but at this point we just haven't gotten to it."

In sessions with Jewish commu-Inity leaders, ADL regional and national officials have termed Bullock—who continues to receive \$550 a week from the ADL—an independent contractor and have vehemently denied knowing that he also supplied information; for a fee, to the government of South Africa.

In addition, ADL officials have depled ever targeting investigations of such organizations as the NAACP, Greenpeace, Mills College, the Asian Law Caucus or the United Farm-Workers—all groups on Which Bullock or former San Francisco Police Officer Tom Gerard, with whom, Bullock worked closely maintained computer files at their homes.

Bullock said that he compiled most of the compiler files on his own and that ADL officials only wanted reports on about 2% of the people and groups he kept tabs on But in interviews with the FBI and Said Francisco police. Bullock said ADL officials directed him to infiltrate about 30 Arab-American, right wing or left-wing groups. He was introduced to Gerard by his supervisor in the San Francisco ADL office, Bullock said.

Bullock said he filed his reports to Bichard Hirschhaut the ADL's executive director in San Francis co, and used a desk in the office. One of his duties was to maintain intelligence files by adding new documents and shredding old files. Bullock said.

San Francisco prosecutors contend that documents and computer data seized at Bullock's home are ADJ files and that some of them.

were obtained illegally from law enforcement sources. San Francis co police with search warrants selzed boxes of documents from ADL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles in April, but have not publicly disclosed what they found San Krancisco Dist Atty: Arlo Smith's office said it will decide whether to file criminal charge against Hirschhaut after investigation Prosecutors looking into whether the ADL received confidential law enforce ment files or authorized Bullock to lllegally tap into a phone message system run by white supremacists: Hirschhaut did not return phone calls from The Times, but ADL attorney Barbara S: Wahl said there was no knowing participation in illegal acts by the ADL. Bullock whose code name w Cal has been paid secrety through a Beverly Hills attorney since 1960 to gather information for the ADL. In a case of particular interest to authorities, Bullock said that top ADL intelligence officials approved \$300 in payments to an informant≟code-named Scumbag=who infiltrated the White Aryan Resistance

Scumbag gaye the ADL the codes needed to eavesdrop on the white supremacist group's phone messages. Bullock said adding that reports he wrote went to Hirschhaut and ADL headquarters in New York. Operation Eavesdrop, as it was called in files found in the San Francisco ADL office, enjoyed the cooperation of the federal Bureau of Alcohol. Tobacco and Firearms, according to police documents.

offices nationwide has not hidden its information-gathering prowess concerning extremist groups. In lengthy reports made available to the media, police and public, the organization has taken detailed looks at the emergence of neo-Nazi skinheads. Holocaust revisionists and Muslim terrorist organizations.

Its recent study of Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood, gleaned mainly from American and Middle Eastern; newspaper, clippings, was prepared in the wake of the World Trade Center, bombing after a flurry of inquiries from news reporters, ADL leaders say

"We make no secret about wholh we're keeping track of," Wahl said, "That's our business "" to monitor, and expose extremists, anti-Semites, violence-prone groups."

ADL: leaders have sought to keep their distance from some of

# SPY: Limiting Damage

Continued from A32

Bullock's activities, while continuing to pay him because he is, in 'Vahl's words, a "damn good" investigator.

"ADL does not maintain a computerized database," Wahl said. "All this stuff floating around about Mills College, Greenpeace, those are [Bullock's] files. Those are not ADL's files."

According to ADL National Director Abraham H. Foxman, the group keeps files on some organizations with which it maintains friendly relations. But there is nothing sinister about those files, he added.

"We have a file on the NAACP—it starts with our brief in support of Brown vs. Board of Education," Foxman said, referring to the ADL's assistance in the landmark 1954 legal case that struck down the "separate but equal" doctrine in the schools.

Melvin Salberg, the ADL's nalional chairman, said he is conderned that the controversy has dimmed the spotlight on programs such as cult awareness training seminars, drafting of a model hatecrime statute and the filing of briefs in notable civil rights lawsuits.

Francisco from outer space," said Salberg, "I would conclude that ADL is nothing more than a spy organization abusing the rights of individuals.

"We would like to be judged by the media and by American citizens by our record and by what we do."

Indeed, life appears to be moving ahead as usual for the ADL, which was founded in 1913 to combat anti-Jewish prejudice in business, politics, movies and, at the time, vaudeville stage humor.

At the ADL's Pacific Southwest Regional headquarters in West Los Angeles last month, more than 100 Southern California public school teachers turned out for free "World of Difference" human relations clinics

And at a fund-raising luncheon at the Century Plaza, about 300 donors watched former U.S. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney accept the group's Distinguished Public Service Award.

"Over the years I've had an excellent relationship and a great admiration for the work of your organization," Cheney told the audience. "The controversy that from

organization, that's usually a sign that something significant is happening and that you are making a difference."

Fund-raising activists do not expect the organization's donations to dry up unless startling new revelations show a clear pattern of abuses by the organization's lead

"Certainly any time a story gets in the newspaper and people file lawsuits it hurts your image," said attorney Morris Dees of the Southern Poverty Law Center, who with ADL help won a \$12.5-million damage award against white supremacist Tom Metzger, "[But] The intentions of the ADL are noble."

Still, some Jewish community leaders wonder whether the ADL may have set itself up for a fall by overextending its definition of anti-Semitism.

Douglas Mirell, an executive board member of the American Jewish Congress in Los Angeles, said that he has no problem with the ADL attempting to infiltrate terrorist groups but that he would take issue with the organization targeting more moderate political organizations.

"I probably disagree with the basic proposition that any critic of Israel is fair game," said Mirell, a veteran civil rights lawyer.

Foxman counters that the ADL is concerned about groups and individuals sympathetic to the Palestine Liberation Organization because it is "out against the Jewish people."

Michael A. Jacobs, chairman of the Jewish Community Relations Council of San Francisco, said the ADL's goals seem to have expanded since the mid-1970s, when it published a book titled "The New Anti-Semitism," which railed against black nationalists, the radical left, pro-Arab groups and even the composers of the musical "Jesus Christ Superstar."

"My personal view is that the label anti-Semitic ought not to be thrown around loosely," Jacobs said. "It devalues it and is unfair."

At the same time, Jacobs said the key issue in the San Francisco controversy remains whether the ADL approved the use of improper means to obtain information.

"We ought to give the ADL they benefit of the doubt because of their reputation and not rush to judge the organization," he continued. "But the mere fact they have to focus so much attention on this and be diverted from their prime.

# Civil liberties group is target of probe

## Did B'nai B'rith league break law?

By Jane Meredith Adams Special to the Tribune

SAN FRANCISCO—In 1954 Roy Bullock, an Indianapolis teenager fascinated by spy stories, wrote a letter to a New York neo-\*Fascist group to see what he could uncover. When the group responded, Bullock took the information to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and, in turning it over, , began a 39-year career as an undercover researcher whose techniques now have led the prominent Jewish organization into a criminal investi-

More than 700 pages of court documents released this month provide a rare glimpse into the nationwide information-gathering methods of the 80-year-old ADL, which in its mission to combat anti-Semitism and other forms of bigotry long has tracked extremist groups and provided law-enforcement agencies with detailed information.

The San Francisco district attorney's office is investigating whether the ADL, in its efforts to defend the civil liberties of many, may have vi-olated the civil liberties of others by obtaining confidential Registry of Motor Vehicles records, criminal histories and information from police files that were supposed to have been shredded.

No charges have been brought against the ADL, and the investigation is continuing.

In the meantime, former U.S. Rep. Pete McCloskey (R-Calif.) last Wednesday filed a class-action lawsuit in San Francisco Superior Court against the ADL for invasion of privacy on behalf of himself and 18 others whose names appeared in Bullock's database, including the son of former Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens.

The civil suit charges that the ADL collected information on opponents of Israeli and South African government policies and passed it on to those countries.

The ADL denied that it is associated with agencies of foreign governments, particularly the Mossad, Israel's intelligence service. The ADL has acknowledged that it pays investigators around the country to report on organizations it suspects of hate crimes, anti-Jewish or anti-

Israel activities, but says it does not condone illegal methods of obtaining information.

The group has launched a review

of its procedures.

"We want to be sure ... there is adherence to our principles and our admonitions-that we will only function within the law and we will not condone any violation of the law," said Melvin Salberg, national chairman of the ADL.

Last week officials at the ADL sought to distance the organization from Bullock, now a 58-year-old dealer in Asian art and a zealous information gatherer who kept a database of 10,000 names and 500 organizations on his computer under the headings "Arab;" "Pinko," "Right," "Skins" and "ANC" (for African National Congress)

gress).

"We knew nothing about the vast extent of the files," said Barbara Wahl, an attorney for the ADL. "Those are not ADL's files. Those are not ADL's terms ... ADL keeps no computerized network of information. That is all Cal's doing," she said, using the ADL's code name for Bullock.

She said that if Bullock also provided information to the FBI and to the South African government, the ADL was unaware of it.

Bullock remains a free-lance investigator for the ADL, Salberg

According to court documents, Bullock had counterparts in other cities, including an ex-police officer in Chicago code-named "Chi-3"; someone called "Ironsides" in St. Louis; and "Flipper," an Arab man in Atlanta.

Richard Cohen, legal director of the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Ala., which tracks hate crimes in its Klanwatch project, described the ADL as a group highly motivated to gather information and publish reports on groups it perceives as harmful to American

"They gather information however they can," Cohen said. Like journalists, he added, they welcome disclosures from confidential sources and "they probably rely on their sources to draw the line" about

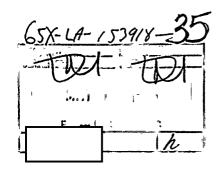
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See League, pg. 22

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# Section 1: Ch

# League

Continued from page 21

what information legally can be given out.

In an interview, Bullock acknowledged that he had crossed that line in obtaining information from former San Francisco police officer Tom Gerard, who traded police files, criminal histories and license-plate numbers in exchange for Bullock's data on extremist groups.

Boxes of police files that were under court order to be shredded were found in Bullock's apart-

ment. Gerard, the subject of an FBI investigation, fled in November to the Philippines.

"I'm not a police person, so should I have this material?" Bullock asked. "That is a problem, and one I can't personally address."

A heavyset man with a mustache and graying hair, Bullock was a familiar figure to activists in San Francisco, particularly in Palestinian and anti-apartheid circles.

While being paid \$550 a week by the ADL, he attended meetings of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Council; he volunteered to work in the office of the anti-apartheid March for Peace, Jobs and Justice; and, because of his stocky build, he worked security at an Arab-American march, said Jeffrey Blankfort, editor of the Middle East Labor Bulletin.

He was so successful at infiltrating political groups that he was once selected to head an Arab-American delegation that visited Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) in her Washington office.

According to court documents, Bullock told a police investigator that he retrieved messages from the telephone answering machine of the White Aryan Resistance (a white supremacist group) by paying an informant called "Scumbag" \$300 or \$400 in ADL funds

for the access code.

He also said he found it irresistible to pass by the building housing the Christic Institute, a leftwing organization, without going up to the fifth floor and rifling though a trash barrel in the hall.

though a trash barrel in the hall. Bullock said "99.9 percent" of the information came from what he called "public sources," including the alternative weekly newspaper in San Francisco, the Bay Guardian, on which he also kept a file.

He said information on such ostensibly apolitical groups as the Earth Island Institute—which was listed in the "Pinko" section, according to court documents—were

part of his own private files, not information he was passing on to ADL.

The revelation that ADL could be tracking such low-profile environmental groups as Earth Island Institute has infuriated members of those groups.

Among the hundreds of groups Bullock kept files on were the Révolutionary Communist Party, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Arab American Democratic Club, the Palestine Human Rights Campaign in Chicago, New Jewish Agenda and the Asian Law Caucus.

Bullock said his career as an informant stemmed from a concern

for justice.

A non-Jew, he said he strongly supported the ADL's mission of identifying anti-Semitism.

"I've never been an idle bystander," he said. "If there's gay bashing by skinheads, don't just wring your hands. Try to identify these thugs and then let the police handle it."

Bullock said he believed the investigation by San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith into the ADL's information gathering operation is part of an effort to impugn the organization's credibility.

"What hidden political agenda is behind this investigation, which has served no one?" he asked. TRANSMIT VIA:



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CLASSIFICATION: SECRET DATE: 4/29/93 FROM: Director, FBI TO: SAC, Los Angeles {65X-LA-153918} UNSUBS; UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE {ADL} IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU CLASSIFIED INFORMATION; ESP-X; 00: LA This communication is classified SECRET in its entirety. b6  $\{U\}$ b7C b7E For information of Los Angeles, the Office of Intelligenace Policy and Review (OIPR), Department of Justice, has reviewed the March 25, 1993, letterhead memorandum detailing the investigation of subject to date. OIPR has determined that the facts as reported therein satisfy the requirements of the Attorney General's Guidelines. ED BY: LASSIFY ON ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED Herein is duclassified Classified by excert where shown OTHERWISE Declassify on: CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC) Classified by G-3 Declassify on OADR 1-AGENT COPY

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# igure in ADL Spy ( Arrested at S.F. Airport

**Espionage:** Former police officer is taken into custody upon arriving from Philippines, where the had fled after FBI interrogation.

By JENIFER WARREN

AN FRANCISCO A former San Francisco police officer who fled to the Philippines amid accusations that he funneled confidential law. enforcement information to an investigator for the Anti-Defamation League was arrested at the airport here on 11 felony charges, police said Friday.

Thomas J. Gerard, who abruptly lift the United States in October efter the FBI questioned him about ans activities, was apprehended Thursday night after a source in the Philippines told investigators that Gerard was returning home.

Gerard, 50; was booked into San Francisco County Jail early Friday "morning on eight counts of theft of government documents and one count each of computer theft, burglary and conspiracy.

If convicted on all charges, Gerard could face 16 years in prison and :\$40,000 in fines. Bail was initially set at \$250,000 after police argued that he was a flight risk, but it was later reduced to \$20,000. A friend of Gerard was trying to post bail late Friday afternoon, a sheriff's spokeswoman said.

Gerard returned to the United States because he missed his wife and child, with whom he lived on a houseboat in Sausalito, and "want-

ed to have his day in court," said Police Capt. John Willett, his former boss and one of two arresting officers.

Gerard, an undercover agent for the Central Intelligence Agency from 1982 to 1985, also feared that the CIA was out to kill him, Willett said. In an interview with The Times last month; Gerard threatened to disclose illegal CIA support of death squads in Central America if he was indicted and tried on the San Francisco spying charges.

Gerard is a central figure in a scandal over an intelligence network operated by the Anti-Defamation League, a prominent Jewish civil rights organization. Investigators allege that Gerard illegally gave criminal histories and other confidential information to Roy Bullock, a San Francisco art dealer who said he has been an undercover ADL intelligence operative for 40 years.

Investigators said they found confidential police files in Bullock's home computer-which contained entries on 10,000 people and 950 groups-and in boxes in his apartment. Files have also been seized under search warrants from ADL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles but authorities have not disclosed their contents.

Gerard could not be reached for comment Friday, and his attorney. James Lassart, did not return telephone calls seeking comment. In the interview with The Times last last month, however, Gerard acknowledged snooping and sharing some information with Bullock, but denied any criminal wrongdoing.

Bullock and Gerard also are under investigation for selling intelligence to South Africa.

ADL officials have described

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

> L.A. TIMES LOS ANGELES, CA

SAT., 5-8-93 Date: Edition: NEWS, A-11

> FIGURE IN ADL SPY CASE ARRESTED AT S.F. AIRPORT

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Bullock as a \$550-a-week inde-. pendent contractor and have vigorously denied knowledge of any illegal activity. On Friday, ADL lawyer Jerrold Ladar said Gerard's arrest "has nothing to do with ADL. Other than that, we have no comment on the case."

Arab-American groups-which were a main target of the spying, 'according to police—applauded the arrest and pressed authorities to

pursue the investigation.

"We urge investigators to carry this case forward and to publicly disclose the full extent of ADL and law enforcement involvement," said James Zogby, head of the Arab American Institute in Washington.

Police, meanwhile, characterized Gerard's arrest—the first in the inquiry into the spying scandal—as an unexpected breakthrough. A former police colleague of Gerard, Inspector Fred Mollat, visited Gerard several weeks ago and urged him to return home.

"I knew he wouldn't want to live on an island on the lam forever, but we didn't think it would happen this quickly," Capt. Willett said. "This development really speeds up our timetable on the case."

During his 25-year career on the police force, Gerard was a highly regarded officer known for his work in the department's intelligence division. His last assignment was on the gang task force.

After FBI agents questioned Gerard last fall, he took early retirement and fled to the remote jungle island of Palawan, 300 miles south of Manila.

Gerard was arrested at 8:40 p.m. as he stepped from his Philippines Airlines flight. He was traveling alone and looked tanned but haggard after his six-month hiatus. police said.

"He was surprised when he saw us standing there, and got a shocked look on his face," Willett said. "Then he said, 'Hello, I'm back."

Serial 37 <sup>•</sup>



Honorable Charles Wilson House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515-4302

Dear Congressman Wilson:

I am writing in further response to your April 13th
communication on behalf of Mr.
Mr. expressed concern over allegations of an illegal
surveillance of American citizens by the Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith using information provided by its contacts in law
enforcement agencies.
Based on the considerable press coverage this issue has
received, the concerns expressed by Mr. are certainly
understandable. While the FBI, as a matter of policy, will not
disclose information which could compromise a pending investiga-
tion, you may assure Mr.   that all aspects of this case
are being explored. The San Francisco Police Department has been

most cooperative in this investigation. With its assistance, the FBI will actively seek prosecution of any individuals discovered

Thank you for providing the FBI an opportunity to address your constituent's concerns.

to be involved in illegal activity or any enterprise which

involves a violation of Federal statutes.

Sincerely yours,

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Legislative Counsel Office of Public and Congressional Affairs

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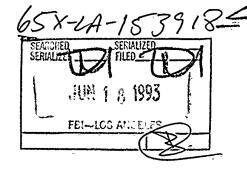
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There have been numerous newspaper articles concerning the ADL and its domestic collection activities, with the most intensive period of press coverage in April and May of this year. There has been virtually no press coverage of this matter since 5/8/93. A recurring theme throughout all of these articles has been the apparent willingness of the ADL to cooperate in whatever investigation is ongoing concerning this matter.

At this point of the investigation into how the Bureau document got into the possession of the ADL it is necessary to pursue one of the following courses of action:

> Interview DAVID LEHRER. Regional Director ADL b) Interview Sergeant LASD LAPD-ATD C) Interview Detective Interview Detective LAPD

It should be noted that the three police officers were listed in the Chicago file 100A-57011 as being recipients of the NATION OF ISLAM document.

Regarding the above courses of action, it should be noted that interview of the police officers would most likely be to the detriment of the current task force concept as practiced within this office and among the terrorism squads. An interview of LEHRER could be conducted discretely, either at the ADL office, or perhaps at this office if appropriate. purpose of either interview would be for the purpose of identifying who provided the document to the ADL.

In the absence of further interviews it is unlikely that any other means will be successful in determining how the document was transferred to the ADL. At this point of the investigation, the most likely theory of how the document got to the ADL is that it was not through a leak, but rather through the typical liaison information flow between local law enforcement and the ADL.

Recommendation: It is recommended that the SAC, Los Angeles authorize the interview of DAVID LEHRER, Regional Director, ADL, for the purpose of seeking the identity of the individual that transferred the NATION OF ISLAM document to the ADL. If this request is approved, FBIHQ authorization to conduct said interview will be sought, as LEHRER in his position currently represents the ADL, and could therefore be conceivably considered

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# LAPD Link to Spy Case Investigated

**■** Law enforcement:

Inquiry focuses on whether officers gave confidential information to the Anti-Defamation League, police chief says.

By JIM NEWTON TIMES STAFF WRITER

The Los Angeles Police Department is investigating allegations that one or more officers compiled confidential information about citizens and turned it over to the Anti-Defamation League, Police Chief Willie L. Williams announced Tuesday.

"The allegations were taken very seriously," Williams said during a meeting of the Los Angeles Police Commission. "An investigation was begun immediately. The results of the investigation, when it is completed, will be made public."

Police Commission President Jesse A. Brewer echoed Williams' comments, and members of an Arab-American group who have pressed the department for action on the charges said they were cautiously gratified by the promise of action.

"This is the first time that we've heard from the commission that there is an investigation," said Nazih Bayda, regional director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. "That's a start, but we will follow it up."

The disclosures Tuesday mark the first time that the LAPD has publicly acknowledged that it is probing charges that at least one officer within the department may have turned over confidential information to the Anti-Defamation League or to an investigator who worked for that group.

Those charges grow out of an investigation in San Francisco that has raised questions statewide about the ADL's relationship to law enforcement agencies.

The district attorney's office in San Francisco is investigating whether ADL officials violated state law by collecting confidential information on more than 1,000 political activists and private citizens.

The ADL denies any wrongdoing, and officials at its San Francisco and Los Angeles offices have cooperated with the inquiry and with police who searched their offices with warrants. Nevertheless, the allegations have outraged some groups, which feel privacy rights may be violated by collaboration between law enforcement agencies and the ADL.

Roy Bullock, the West Coast investigator for the ADL, has said that he infiltrated about 30 political groups, but he denies doing anything dishonest. Bullock admitted receiving driver's license and criminal history information on about 50 people, and police found other confidential data in Please see LAPD, B8

#### **LAPD**

Continued from B1

Bullock's computer. That information is supposed to be available only to law enforcement officials.

Earlier this year, San Francisco Dist. Atty. Arlo Smith said that a portion of the confidential information appeared to come from the LAPD. Los Angeles police officials have refused to comment on the progress of the inquiry, and neither Williams nor Brewer offered any details about the status of the investigation.

Citing news reports and other sources, Bayda said that as many as four LAPD officers may have supplied the ADL with confidential files. Some sources said an LAPD anti-terrorism expert is a possible suspect, but department officials have not confirmed that.

(Indicate page, name of Los ANGCES newspaper, city and state.) TIMES

Date: 6/30/93

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In his appearance before the Police Commission, Bayda was joined by two prominent political figures, former City Councilman Robert Farrell and former Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally.

Farrell said he was particularly distressed by the suggestion that some of the information allegedly turned over to Bullock or the ADL could have made its way to the South African government. Bullock has admitted selling some information to South Africa.

As a councilman, Farrell said he held a number of meetings to discuss issues with South African dissidents, and he now worries that those meetings might have been infiltrated

"I would hate to know, at some point in the future, that someone was reporting information to the LAPD and that information was part of the material that u sold to

South African agents," Farrell said.

Dymally also urged the department to investigate the charges, saying that they "undermine the confidence-building that the commission has embarked upon with considerable success."

Members of the group that addressed the Police Commission Tuesday said their fears about LAPD surveillance were heightened by what they considered suspicious police conduct at a rally last week. Demonstrators gathered outside the ADL headquarters in Westwood last Tuesday, Bayda said, and he accused the LAPD of sending a plainclothes photographer to take pictures of protesters.

Bayda said demonstrators knew the photographer was a police officer because they had seen him earlier in the day riding in a car with uniformed LAPD officers.

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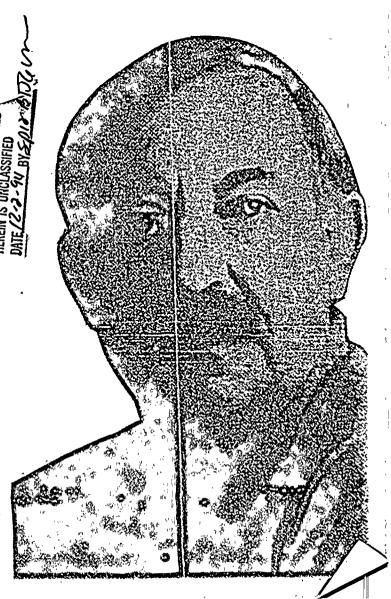
# THE GARBAGE MAN-

# The Strange World of Roy Edward Bullock

The Bizarre Story of the Number One Investigator for the ADL's International Spy Network

With special introductory material by Michael Collins Piper, the nation's leading authority on the history and intrigue of the ADL.

HERE'S THE SOLID PROOF THAT INDICTS THE ADL.



The unusual title of this unusual document tells it all: The Garbage Man—The Strange World of Roy Edward Bullock, Number One Investigator for the Anti-Defamation Léague's International Spy Network.

The flamboyant Bullock, a charming, skilled, affable and clever forty-year undercover informant for the ADL is a central figure in an ongoing (1993) criminal probe of the ADL by the San Francisco District Attorney's office. Throughout his entire adult life, the 58-year-old Bullock has been infiltrating and spying upon all manner of organizations at the behest of the ADL. A strange occupation indeed.

Why dub an amusing chap such as the ADL's Roy Bullock, "the garbage man"? Well, it was Bullock himself, in interviews with the FBI and the San Francisco Police, who described his own peculiar proclivity for rummaging through the garbage of organizations

targeted by the ADL's spy apparatus.

t's more, Bullock's partner-in-crime, Tom Gerard, a San Francisco police officer would bullock and the ADL with stolen police intelligence information, described himsen and Bullock in a newspaper interview as "The Kings of Garbage" in light of their odd practices. Gerard evidently shared Bullock's rubbish fetish.

It might be noted, additionally, that virtually all of what the ADL itself has peddled to the media (and to police agencies around the country) over the years is, in fact, garbage: false, malicious and defamatory lies designed to inflame public opinion (and official sanction) against any and all groups which have aroused the wrath of the ADL.

Not surprisingly, one of Bullock's principal targets—from the beginning of his bizarre career—has been LIBERTY LOBBY, the Washington-based populist Institution estab-

lished in 1955, just one year after Bullock began spying for the ADL.

LIBERTY LOBBY, because of its effectiveness as America's oldest lobby organization devoted exclusively to the interests of the nation's consumers, taxpayers and voters, is a particular thorn in the side of Bullock's superiors at the ADL.

As a consequence, the ADL has, not surprisingly, expended vast sums of money and an immense amount of energy in targeting LIBERTY LOBBY for destruction. The ADL's spy chief—its self-described "chief fact finder"—one Irwin Suall, an ex-labor racketeer operating out of Manhattan, has specialized in organizing campaigns of harassment and sabotage and dirty tricks against LIBERTY LOBBY for years.

Suall's man Bullock himself visited the offices of LIBERTY LOBBY on Capitol Hill numbers throughout his career, seeking to uncover what he could about the pop-

uil titution and its operations.

it was, however, in early 1986 that this author (who had been treated to lunches and dinners by Bullock on several occasions) realized that something was amiss. Bullock's behavior was suspect. He was, in fact, it was realized, an ADL agent.

Thus it was LIBERTY LOBBY, appropriately enough, that first exposed Roy Bullock as a paid informant for the ADL in the June 30, 1986 issue of The SPOTLIGHT,

the populist Institution's weekly newspaper.

So what then is this entity known as the ADL? It is, first of all, probably the bestorganized and -financed and most insidious private spy organization in existence on

the face of the earth today.

The ADL, you see, is the American-based propaganda and intelligence division of Israel's super-secret spy agency, the Mossad. The ADL functions as an unregistered—and therefore illegal—foreign agent for the state of Israel, lobbying on behalf of Israel's interests.

The ADL uses its secret files for blackmail purposes and for the intimidation of persons and institutions perceived to be a threat to Israel's continuing multi-billion

dollar demands upon the American taxpayers.

If, for example, a member of Congress is considering a vote against taxpayer-financed

benefits to Israel, the ADL will turn to its spy files. Has that congressman been disloyal to his wife? Did that congressman take a bribe? The ADL uses the fruits of its illegal spying to discipline disorderly congressmen such as this and to bring him into line.

If the congressman fails to obey the ADL, his wife may find out he's been stepping out on her and the Justice Department may be advised that the congressman is a crook. It's

as simple—and as evil—as that.

The ADL has another unusual function that is less known, but equally odious. Heavily funded by organized crime interests, particularly by criminals of Jewish origin spawned in the international crime syndicate of the late Meyer Lansky, the ADL is quick to raise the cry of "anti-Sémitism" when honest law enforcement authorities seek to crack down on crime.

It is, in fact, the ADL which is responsible for covertly promoting much of the media's hype about the so-called "Mafia," the term loosely used to describe organized crime in general, but certain Italian-American elements in the criminal underworld in particular.

Actually, the firm evidence proves that it is the ADL's behind the scenes criminal benefactors in the Lansky combine who were the real leaders of organized crime in America. The Italian-American "Mafia" families, in fact, were simply functioning as foot soldiers for the Lansky Syndicate bosses.

In any case, the very fact that such an entity—the ADL—has been running a massive spying operation unfettered for decades is now part of the public record. Criminal indictments of top ADL officials are expected as a consequence of the San Francisco investigation and the unsavory nature of the ADL has been bared for all to see.

Roy Edward Bullock was but one cog in a giant international operation, the full scope of which has yet to be unmasked. However, Bullock's story is an interesting one at that and one that needs to be told for it mirrors the strange depths of the ADL's dark intrigue.

This volume is primarily a compilation of a portion of some 750 pages of documents released by the San Francisco District Attorney's office in the course of the

early stages of its inquiry into the ADL spy scandal.

The documents assembled here are as follows: (1) A declaration and an affidavit filed by San Francisco Police Inspector Ron Roth describing his inquiry into the ADL spy network, enumerating facts he uncovered as well as apparent illegal activities by Bullock, former police officer Tom Gerard and the ADL. (2) An FBI report detailing an interview the FBI conducted with Bullock. (3) An FBI report detailing an interview the bureau conducted with Los Angeles ADL official David Gurvitz (4) Actual copies of reports that Bullock filed with the ADL on a number of organizations and individuals; and (5) A list of the hundreds of organizations upon whom Roy Edward Bullock spied on behalf of the ADL. Also included are several interesting news reports that summarize the matter.

For those interested in reading more about the history and intrigue of the ADL there are several valuable studies available. (Please see the inside back cover of this volume

for further information.)

When you have finished reading this remarkable compilation of official documents, you will see, at long last, the ugly truth about the ADL —truly one of the nation's most despicable crime syndicates.

Let us hope that this volume is widely circulated so that the ADL's machinations will' be widely known and understood.

LIBERTY LOBBY

MICHAEL COLLINS PIPER Washington, D.C. May 15, 1993

# Did private spy 'cross the line' into crime?

SEATTLE TIMES, 13 April 93

by Richard C. Paddock Los Angeles Times

N FRANCISCO — To the outside world, Roy cck was a small-time San Francisco art dealer. In reality, he was a spy who picked through garbage and amassed secret files for the Anti-Defamation League for nearly 40 years.

His code name at the prominent Jewish organization was Cal, and he was so successful at infiltrating political groups that he was once chosen to head an Arab-American delegation that visited Rep. Nancy Pelosi, D-Calif., in her Washington, D.C., office.

For a time, Cal tapped into the phone-message system of the White Aryan Resistance to learn of hate crimes. From police sources, he obtained privileged, personal information on at least 1,394 people. And he met surreptitiously with agents of the South African government to trade his knowledge for \$100 bills.

Those were among the secrets that Bullock and David Gurvitz, a former Los Angeles-based operative, divulged in extensive interviews with police and the FBI in a growing scandal over the nationwide intelligence network operated by the Anti-Defamation

described Jewish defense and civil-rights organization, have denied any improper activity and have refused to discuss Bullock and Gurvitz. They say they will cooperate with the investigation.

Transcripts of the interviews – among nearly 700 pages of documents released by San Francisco prosecutors last week – offer new details of the private spy operation that authorities allege crossed the line into illegal territory.

he line into illegal territory.

At times, the intelligence activities took on a cloakand-dagger air with laundered payments, shredded documents, hotel rendezvouses with foreign agents and code names likes "Ironsides" and "Flipper."

On one occasion, Gurvitz recounts, he received a tip that a pro-Palestinian activist was about to board a plane bound for Haifa, Israel. Although the Anti-Defamation League publicly denies any ties to Israel, Gurvitz phoned an Israeli consular official to warn him. Shortly afterwards, another official called Gur-

#### SPY

continued from Page 1

vitz back and debriefed him.

The court papers also added to the mystery of Tom Gerard, a former CIA agent and San Francisco police officer accused of providing confidential material from police files to the Anti-Defamation League.

Gerard fled to the Philippines last fall after he was interviewed by the FBI, but left behind a briefcase in his police locker. Its contents included passports, driver's licenses and identification cards in 10 different names; ID cards in his own name for four American embassies in Central America; and a collection of blank birth certificates, Army discharge papers and official stationery from various agencies.

Also in the briefcase were extensive information on death squads; a black hood, apparently for use in interrogations; and photos of blindfolded and chained

meņ.

Investigators suspect that Gerard and other police sources gave the ADL confidential driver's license or vehicle-registration information on a vast number of people, including about 4,500 members of one target group, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

Each case of obtaining such data from a law-enforcement officer could constitute a felony, San Francisco police inspector Ron Roth noted in an affidavit for a

search warrant.

The Anti-Defamation League acknowledges that it has long collected information on groups that are anti-Semitic, extremist or racist. The ADL's fact-finding division, headed by Irwin Suall in New York, enjoys a reputation for thoroughness and has often shared its information with police agencies and journalists.

However, evidence seized from Bullock's computer shows that he

all political stripes, including the American Civil Liberties Union, Earth Island Institute, the United Auto Workers, Jews for Jesus, Mother Jones magazine, the Center for Investigative Reporting, the Bo Gritz for President Committee, the Asian Law Caucus and the AIDS activist group Act-Up.

The computer files also included information on several members of Congress, including Pelosi, House Armed Services Committee Chairman Ron Dellums, D-Calif., and former Republican Rep. Pete McCloskey from the San Francisco Bay area.

Gurvitz declined through his father to be interviewed. Bullock's attorney said his client would not

comment.

Bullock, 58, is one of the most intriguing characters in the spy drama. Although he is not Jewish, he began working undercover as a volunteer for the ADL and the FBI in Indiana in 1954 after reading a book about a man who infiltrated the Communist Party.

Bullock moved to Los Angeles in 1960 and was given a paid position by the ADL as an intelligence operative, he told authorities. In the mid-1970s, he moved to San Francisco and continued his spy operations up and down the West Coast.

To keep his identity secret, his salary has always been funneled through Beverly Hills, Calif., attorney Bruce Hochman — who has never missed a payment in more than 32 years, Bullock said.

From a wide range of sources, Bullock compiled files on 9,876 individuals. Gerard, whose files contained many identical entries, kept files on 7,011 people.

In 1987, Bullock and Gerard began selling some of their vast wealth of information to the South African government. Bullock tells of meeting secretly with South African agents at San Francisco hotels and receiving envelopes filled with thousands of dollars in new \$100 bills.

Bullock insists the information he sold consisted of data he culled only from public sources, and that only Gerard sold official police intelligence. Bullock said he split about \$16,000 from the South African government evenly with Gerard.

In his interviews with the police and FBI, Bullock talked freely about engaging in activities that prosecutors say would appear to

violate the law.

For example, Bullock admitted receiving driver's-license records and criminal histories from Gerard on about 50 people — a fraction of the confidential police data found in his computer. And he said Gerard gave him complete San Francisco Police Department intelligence files on various Nazi groups that were supposed to be destroyed under department policy.

Bullock said he also received a confidential FBI report on the Nation of Islam that he later shredded at the Anti-Defamation League's San Francisco office.

Bullock seemed proud of his "Operation Eavesdrop," in which he used a paid informant, codenamed Scumbag, to help tap into a White Aryan Resistance phonemessage network, listening to the messages left by members of the right-wing group. "For a short time, it was wonderful," he told police.

In Los Angeles, ADL operative Gurvitz was hired about four years ago as a "fact-finder" to keep intelligence files and occasionally go undercover to the meetings of

target groups.

Gurvitz was recently forced to resign after an incident in which he attempted to misuse the ADL intelligence network to seek revenge on a rival who got a job Gurvitz wanted at the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies. Gurvitz received confidential police information on the rival and threatened to expose him as a Jewish spy to a right-wing hate group.

Gurvitz has since begun cooperating with police and the FBI in the probe, providing considerable information about the ADL operation. Unlike Bullock, he has been assured he is not a subject of the

investigation.

# n-Arabs mainly shadowed, evidence shows

S J. OPATRNY T WINOKUR Examiner

RANCISCO — Evine investigation of excer Tom Gerard and cisco art dealer Roy paid informant of the matio ague, now the national non-Arabic is and groups.

sly, Arab-Americans arly those in northern — claimed they had ed out. They cited Bulto the Jewish organihis infiltration of sevir groups on the West een 1986 and 1992.

ked the San Francis-Commission and the ey's office to release bearing on their pery found in evidence he resides of Gerllock and ADL offices ncisco and Los Ange-

Arabs throughout the re the primary targets, to sources whose ins based directly upon the evidence, which includes a private computer data base containing 12,000 names.

"Most names are not from San Francisco. There are many from Los Angeles, but most are not from California. And most are not Arab," said one of the sources, an Arab-American.

"We only make up a quarter of this list. When this whole thing comes to light, a majority probably will be Ku Klux Klan and skinheads," the source said. "But one Arab name is too many and they still violated our civil rights."

Gerard and Bullock are suspected of collaborating to spy on pro-Palestinian, black nationalist, white supremacist and other anti-Jewish groups from 1985 to 1992. Secret files were compiled in possible violation of criminal and civil-rights laws, authorities say.

The two men have been under investigation by the district attorney and the FBI since November; neither has been charged. Gerard, who has fled to a remote island in the Philippines, maintains his innocence.

Bullock has not commented, but his attorney, Robert Breakstone, said he is cooperating with investigators.

Michael Piper, a reporter for a publication of the radicalright Liberty Lobby, one of the groups Bullock spied on, said he and Bullock spoke by telephone Jan. 31.

"'It's all out in the open now,'
"Piper reported Bullock saying.
"He indicated he found the whole affair unpleasant, but he

didn't think he'd get in trouble."

ADL officials say they are cooperating with investigators and that their organization is not an investigative target.

The ADL has admitted that it routinely gathers information on individuals and organizations, but it contends such surveillance is legal and consistent with its mission: the collection and dissemination of information "to counteract all facets of bigotry and prejudice."

#### **Membership Information**

To join Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy one must be age 18 years or older and sign a sworn oath of loyalty to the U.S. Constitutution. Minimum membership dues are \$5 a month (or a minimum of \$40 annually). Benefits include a subscription to the weekly SPOTLIGHT newspaper and a subscription to the regular members-only newsletter, Liberty Letter. For further information, write: Liberty Lobby, 300 Independence Ave., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 or call (202) 546-5611.

#### DECLARATION OF INSPECTOR ROW ROTH

I am Inspector pon Poth of the San Francisco Police Department, and I have been conducting an investigation into the misuse of confidential government information and the invasion of privacy of over 1,000 persons. In connection with this investigation I prepared a search warrant affidavit with exhibits for five search warrants which were issued by the Hon. Lenard Louie. I helieve that that affidavit is true and I have attached a copy of it with its exhibits to this affidavit and included it within Exhibit "A".

I have read an affidavit prepared by Set. Steve Cudeli of the cancisco Police Pepartment regarding this same investigation affidavit I believe to be true and which I have attached and included within Fxhibit "A".

I personally went to Los Angeles to serve the search warrant and search the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) office in that city. The persons in charge of that office wished to cooperate with my investigation and consented to a search of that office and that search warrant was not served. All of the items removed from that alocation were copied and copies were left with ADL. The seized items were returned to San Francisco and index of which is attached hereto and is included within Fxhibit "A".

I spoke to San Francisco Police Department Captain John Willett who told me that the persons in charge of the San Francisco ANL office at 720 Market St., SF and their attorneys wished to cooperate with our investigation and they consented to the search and the search warrant was not served.

All of the items removed from that location that belonged to the ADL were copied and copies were left with the ADL. All other items that did not belong to ADL were removed and were not copied. The seized items, an index of which is attached and included within Fxhibit "A".

I have observed and examined the items seized from Rov Pullock's new which location I have blacked out from the copies of the ed search warrants for Mr. Pullock's safety. Mr. Pullock did not consent to the search but the search warrant was served with his cooperation, according to Inspector Robert Pulsey. The seized items, an index of which is attached and included within Exhibit "A".

I have observed and examined the items seized from the residence and storage shed belonging to Thomas and Julie Gerard, the location of which I have blacked out for their sufety. I was informed by Sgt. Gudeli who conducted that search that Thomas Gerard was not present at the time of the search, however, his life was present and although she did not consent, the searches

were conducted with her cooperation. The seized items from each location, indexes of which are attached hereto and included as part of Exhibit "4".

I spoke to FAI Agent Joel Moss who told me that he interviewed Roy "Cal" Pullock on two occasions at the office of Pullock's attorney and that Moss memorialized these two conversations in FBI reports which Moss gave to me and which I have read and which I believe to be true and which I have copied and attached hereto collectivly as Fxhibit "R".

I also spoke to Roy "Cal" Rullock and I agreed that the statement he gave to me would not be used against him in a criminal trial. These conversations were tape-recorded and have been transcribed. I have read the transcriptions and they are accurate renditions of our conversation. I am attaching them to this affidavit collectively as Fxhibit "C" because they may contain evidence which may he exculpatory or which might tend to detract from the probable cause described in this affidavit. I do not wish the court to consider these statements for purposes of probable cause.

I prepared a search warrant affidavit on 2/5/93 for the search of Thomas Gerard's bank accounts, Rov "Cal" Bullock's bank accounts and a black briefcase which was found in a locker belonging to Thomas Gerard. I have attached a copy of that affidavit to this affidavit as <a href="#fix4">Fxhibit "A"</a>. A copy of the search warrant return and inventory for the briefcase has been copied and is attached and is referred herein as Fxhibit "D".

I was told by Agent Moss as contained in Exhibit "R" that Poy "Cal" Pullock was an employee of Anti-Detamation League but that the APL did not pay Pullock directly. Moss told me that Pullock received his ADL salary from a lawyer named Pruce Pochman in Los Angeles. I called Los Angeles telephone information and found a listing for Pruce Hochman, an attorney at telephone no. (310) 273-1181. I spoke to a man who told me he was Mr. Hochman and that he had been receiving salary checks from the Anti-Defamation League and then depositing them to Hochman's own account and then writing his own check to Roy "Cal" Pullock to pay his APL salary. Fochman told me that he had been doing this for approximately 25 years. Motes of my conversation with Hochman have been copied and my notes are attached to this affidavit and are referred to herein as Fxhibit "C". Mr. Hochman sent to me his bank records for the past three years. I reviewed those records which consisted of cancelled checks. I determined that the statement made to Joel Moss by Roy "Cal" Bullock and the statement made by Rruce Mochman are true in that ADL paid Pullock's salary hy sending a check to Pochman who in turn sent a check to Pullock.

As a result of the search warrants served on Roy Bullock's hank account at the Pank of America. I have so far received his bank records and cancelled checks for the period July 1985 through

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August 1989. The Los Angeles attorney Bruce Pochman sent me cancelled checks he had written to Roy Pullock for the period January '90 through February '93. I have examined all of these cancelled checks written to Roy Pullock from Bruce Hochman. Most checks have a notation on the bottom "Research". The checks are generally written weekly and in 1985 they started out in the amount of \$250 per check. In 1990 the amount increased to \$550 per check and appears to be constant through 1993. Of the 333 checks I have examined in this time period the total amount paid to Pullock was \$149,375.00. A log of all Pochman checks, examined has been made, and a copy of which is attached hereto and now referenced as Fxhibit "F".

Thoke to Pavid Curvitz who told me that he had been an employee the Anti-Pefamation League and that he knew Rov Rullock. I be recorded this conversation and a transcription of that interview which I helieve to be accurate is attached hereto as Fxhibit "C". I spoke to FRI Agent Joel Moss who told me that he had a recent interview with Pavid Gurvitz and that he memorialized that interview in an official FRI report, which I have read and which I helieve to be true, a copy of which is attached hereto as Fxhibit "P".

I spoke to Tim Carroll who told me that he was a San Diezo County Sheriff's Petective and that he knew Tom Gerard and Roy Bullock. I tape-recorded our interview, an accurate transcript of which is attached hereto and is included in Exhibit "A".

#### DATA BASES

I have examined the data bases extracted from the 12-10-9? confiscated computers from the residence of Pov Pullock and the residence of Tom Gerard. In the "Paradox" computer program, Pullock had a data base named "PDX ROY/DR". This data base was divided into four catagories named: "ARAB" "PINKO" "RIGHT" "SKINS". Gerard's computer also had this PDX ROY/DB" data base. Gerard's was divided into five catagories: "ARAB" "PINKO" "RIGHT" "SKINS" and "A.N.C.". A.N.C. stands for African National Congress. This is believed due to interviews made as well as data analysis.

Within the "PPY ROY/CP" database in Pullock's computer there were 9,876 files located. The majority of these files are individual people referenced along with their address, sometimes a physical description and a comments field. The comments field often contained group affiliation or a list of meetings attended by the subject. There were also fields in each record that called for a driver's license number and another field for their vehicle license olate number. In Eullock's data base, we located references to 1,394 driver's license numbers and license plates.

Gerard's data base seems to contain many of the same files as Pullock's data base, with the exception of several later entries. Pue to the exact names of both files: "PDY ROY/DR", and the fact that many files are identical in nature, and there are numerous misspellings that are identical to both, including the word "liscense" in a field of its own on every file of both data bases, it is believed that at one time Pullock gave Gerard a copy of his data base. At that time it is believed that both subjects (Gerard and Pullock) added onto them seperately.

An analysis of Gerard's data based "PDX ROY/DB" found that he had 7011 files. These were constructed similar to Pullock's. We located 874 references to driver's licenses and license plates in Gerard's data base.

Reference were found in both computer data bases to: F.B.I., G.I.I., and local criminal history numbers.

Also located in both computers, were numerous references to hundreds of political, religious, social, ethnic, and business groups. These references were made both in the data bases and in documents retrieved. A copy of the groups listed is attached to this affidavit and now referenced as Exhibit "I"

Pased on the evidence, exhibits and facts in this affidavit I helieve that Pov Pullock and APL had numerous peace officers supplying them with confidential criminal and PMV information.

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Upon examining the documents extracted from Rov Rullock's computer, which was seized on 12-10-97, I read two documents titled: "CPRISTIC" and "CPRIST 2". Poth documents refer to the fhristic Institute in San Francisco. Among other items mentioned in these documents, which are dated May 1988 and Jan. 10, 1990, respectively, are the names and phone numbers of many employees including the home phone numbers of the heads of the Marin and San Jose offices. Also mentioned are telephone messages to staff members, (including names and phone numbers of callers) office correspondence listing the names and return addresses of the notes and dates of letters, and inter-office notes. These horts also make mention of the fact that The Christic Institute intains bank accounts with Wells Fargo and with Fureka Federal Savings. The report "CPRIST 2" goes so far as to itemize 5 checks written, including the pavees, the dates, and amounts. It also includes the balance of the checking account.

I was able to examine and read another set of documents retrieved from Pullock's seized computer. They were titled "F...." and "F....2" through "H....6", for a total of six documents.

These documents pertain to a right winged individual that has been associated with the White Arvan Resistance, W.A.R. Some of the documents refer to notes and letters read (possibly from the trash) that refer to this subject and his family. The documents refer to this subject's daughters and lists their ages as 19, 12, and 13 years old as well as their names. Motes that these girls wrote to each other are quoted in these documents. It should be noted that these children are described as having right-winged leanings as they refer to skinheads and swastikas in their quoted writings.

I have examined bank records from Tom Gerard's account at the San Francisco Police Credit Union. These records were given to me as the result of a search warrant served at that location on 02/08/93. The records examined were for the period between 1985 and December of 1992. A closer analysis revealed that between November 26, 1990 and June 8, 1992 Tom Gerard made over \$10,500 in cash deposits. Upon examination of the deposit slips in these transactions, I have found that approximately 76t of this amount was deposited in denominations of \$50's and \$100's.

This time frame, and the amount of cash, and it's denominations will tend to corroborate statements made by Bullock to the F.B.I. with respect to the money Bullock and Gerard allegedly received from representatives of the South African government. Bullock told Agent Moss that the amount of approximately \$16,000 was split between he and Gerard over approximately 4 years.

I have also examined partial bank records from Roy Bullock's account at the Band of America. These partial records, from 1985 - 1988, were given to me as the result of a search warrant served at the Castro St. branch on 02/08/93. The records examined by me showed that in this time frame Bullock had cashed \$12,808 in money orders and cashier's checks. 12 of these money orders were American Express money orders totalling over \$8625. Five of these American Express money orders were for \$1000 each. Bullock has made statments to me that personnel in the San Francisco A.D.L. office pay him money orders for him to cash and pay his informants and for his expenses in his field investigating.

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#### OPERATION EVESDROP

I have reviewed documents and data retrieved from the computer seized from the 12-10-92 search of Roy Pullock's residence. Among those retrieved documents I read one titled "SCUMPAG POY". This document refers to an informant of the ATF (Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms). The document describes how this informant was in fact a highly placed member of the group White Arvan Resistance (W.A.R.). It also says that this informant wrote and recorded the tacist "hot-line" hate messages for the W.A.R. group. I have interviewed on the telephone a man claiming to be a self proclaimed White Supremist. Tom Metzger. Metzger told me that he is associated with the W.A.R. group and has been connected with some of the W.A.R. "hot-lines" in operation throughout the state.

he "SCUMPAG NOX" document further states that this ATF informant and the access code for the W.A.R. "hot-line", which allows one to hear all the recorded messages left after the signal beep. This document was dated 12/29/90 and was signed by "Cal" indicating Roy Rullock. The document refers to the informant by name.

I also reviewed a document from the same computer, titled "FVFSNPOP NOX". The document is quoted as saving: "With information supplied by an official friend, we are now able to listen to all messages left on the war hotline (541-5688). "Starting on the weekend of November 3rd, I have monitored the phone number on a continual basis."

This document, "Fvesdrop POX", is dated 11/8/90 and is signed by "Cal" (indicating Pov Pullock). With my interview of former Los Angeles A.P.L. employee David Gurvitz, I knew that when A.P.L. employee's refer to "official friend", they are referring to friends in law enforcement. This document further transcribes calls which were apparently made to the W.A.R. hotline. The calls are dated and identified with respect to the callers name and time

I have examined similar documents retrieved from Pullock's computer. These documents number 15 and are titled "Fves 2" numerically through to "Fves 15". They are all similar in which hev describe messages left on the hotline, with respect to date, ime, caller info, and message. Many of the messages referenced fre tacist in nature and many have notations in parenthesis that note the individuals California Driver's License number, vehicle registration information, or P.O. Box information.

The last document in this series is titled "Fves 15" and is dated October, 1991.

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I have reviewed material and documents seized at a 12-10-92 consent search of the S.F. A.D.L. office. I am aware that among items seized by Insp. Dennis Maffei was a manila folder file titled "OPFRATION EVESTORDP". I reviewed this file and found it to contain four reports, 3 were on pink paper and one on white paper. Three of these are the same as those found in Rullock's computer, which are labeled in Rullock's data base "FVES 4, FVES 5, EVFS 7". All are headed on too by "Subject: War Voicemail Messages" and all are dated in the April - May 1991 time-range. The fourth document found in the S.F. - A.D.L. folder file labeled "OPFRATION EVESDROP" is dated May 21-22, 1991 and could not be located in the Pullock computer. This document is similar to the test and stapled to it is an A.P.L. piece of notepaper imprinted with the A.D.L. logo and the words: "From the desk of Richard S. "Irschhaut". The following names are typed on the notepaper: "Irwin Suall" "Alan Schwartz" "Mort Kass" "Retsy Rosenthal" and the words "For Your Information" are typed below.

I recognize all of those names to be former or present A.D.L. amployees in different A.D.L. offices across the country. I have knowledge that there are approximately 35 A.D.L. offices in the country and the S.F. office is known as the Central Pacific Regional Office.

After reviewing the documents seized from the San Francisco and Los Angeles A.D.L. I know that it is common for A.D.L. reports to be routed to different A.D.L. offices across the country.

It should be noted that in my interview with Pullock, he told me that he left copies of all "FVFSDROP" related documents on S.F. A.D.L. Executive Pirector Rich Pirschhaut's desk. On several occasions, Pullock told me, he personally discussed "Operation Evesdrop" with Pirschhaut and handed him the reports.

On April 5th 1993 I received a letter from Pruce Mochman the attorney who has been passing on the A.D.L. payments to Pov Pullock. Mr. Mochman had previously told me that he would send to me a copy of the check that A.D.L. sends to Mochman for Bullock.

In the letter was enclosed a copy of an A.P.L. check, a copy of both check and letter is attached hereto and incorporated by reference as Fxhibit "K". The name of bank upon which the check is drawn is the City National Pank, "Hishire La Clenaga Office, 842 Wilshire Plvd., Reverly Hills, CA 90211.

Pavid Gurvitz told me that this bank is the same bank, (but a different branch) in which that the A.D.L. has a secret fund which is an account in the name of "L. Patterson". Gurvitz has previously told me that Pavid Lehrer, the person in charge of the

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Los Angeles A.D.L. office kept a City Mational Bank check book in Gutvitz' ADL office safe. The name on the checks was L. Patterson. Gutvitz told me the bank was located at Olympic and Vermont Sts., Los Angeles. I believe this bank to be at 1730 W. Olympic, Los Angeles, CA. Gutvitz told me that David Lehrer is thouly one that signs these checks as "L. Patterson".

The purpose of this check book was to pay for expenses for the fact finding operations of Los Angeles A.D.L.

Pased on the facts contained in this combined affidavit and its exhibits and my experience and training I believe that the bank records from these two checking accounts would show: (1) that Roy Pullock is an employee of A.D.L. (2) who in A.D.L. Supplies the funds to pay Roy Pullock (3) who receives surrepticious payments from the L. Patterson account. (4) whether there are any other hidden employees other than Roy Bullock.

navid Gurvitz had told me on 3/31/93 that all salary checks came me the New York office of A.P.L. Gurvitz also told me that he we work office of A.P.L. Gurvitz also told me that he work some other code named fact finders and field investigators ke Roy "Cal" Bullock and that their names are: (1) In Chicago there is an ex-police officer named CRI-3 (2) In St. Louis there is IRONSIDES (3) In Atlanta there is an Arab speaking man named FLIPPFR. Since it appears that nationwide there are additional secret code named employees of A.D.L. and since it appears that there are other California code named employees such as SCOUT, SCUMBAG and POT SPURS. I helieve that the bank records for the two described Bank accounts will tend to show that other state income tax felonies have been committed and that the evidence of such felonies will be found in the bank records and check books at the A.P.L. offices as well as the bank records that exist ut the bank's offices.

Attached to this search warrant and affidavit is a list of items to be located at both APL S.F. and L.A. offices. This list is incorporated herein and is now referenced as "ITEMS TO RE SFIZED". Most of these items listed were also listed in the 12/10/97 search warrants of the same officers. At this time I requested permission to search for these items again due to the fact that on 12-10-92 APL employees were apparently less than truthful with regards to the employment of Roy Rullock and other matters. In the L.A. APL office when I requested employment information on Pavid Gurvitz and on Pov Pullock I was told that the office had no records there.

ing those consent searches we were also looking for a "Nation of Islam" report prepared by the F.P.I. We were not given that report by APL employees. That report was later shared to us by

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the attorney of Roy Pullock. During those searches we were not provided with or did we locate:

l. Fmplovee records on

Pov Pullock Pavid Gurvizz:

- .2. Internal APL memos or records showing the ADL's leadership relation to Pullock, Gurvitz, and the fact finding function:
- 3. ADL phone records for L.A. and S.F.:
- 4. Lists of "Official friends" or law enforcement contacts:
- S. Information on the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee. Gurvitz told me that there were numerous files and rferences to this organization in the L.A. office. In fact Pavid Gurvitz told me that any Arab American with unti-Israel leanings or any Arab Americans that wrote letters to the newspaper editors expressing anti-Israeli sentiment would be reflected in ADL L.A. files.

After numerous interviews and analysis of the documents seized in eight searches as well as examination of Pullock and Gerard's computer files I know that it is common for the ADL to keep and file information on groups such as the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee. It is believed that if located, these files will show that inquiries were made to D.M.V. vehicle registration and driver's license numbers of members listed at a tatio of approximately 10-157 of the total membership. For each D.M.V. inquiry by the ADL, through a law enforcement officer, a felony of 187 P.C., conspiracy, could be applied.

At this time I would request the authorization to search both ADL S.F. and L.A. offices for any information or document that is also present in Rullock's seized computer. This information will tend to show that Bullock is in fact a paid employee for the ADL and the majority of the information stored on his computer is there strictly for ADL purposes. It is believed that Pullock's data hases are in fact the ADL data hases. This conclusion is based on the comparison of ADL seized documents and Rullock's retrieved computer documents as well as statements of Bullock and Gurvitz.

On the basis of my investigation, which included numerous interviews, inquiries to other law enforcement agencies, service of numerous search warrants, and analysis of bank records as well as computer records, as contained in this affidavit and its

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exhibits, it is my belief that Roy Rullock has been a permanent employee of the Anti-Defamation League for over 25 years. Fxhibits attached indicate that Rullock was paid each week by Reverly Hills attorney Bruck Mochman who in turn was reimbursed by the A.D.L. It is believed that Bullock had access to and a desk at the A.D.L. office in San Francisco and in fact received direction as to his assignments and duties from A.Q.L.'s San Francisco Frecutive Director Rick Mirschhaut and from A.D.L.'s fact finding head in New York. Irwin Suall. .

I have been in contact with a tax auditor for the State of California Employment Development Department (Tax Enforcement Section) Robert Smith. Smith told me that he has researched Pullock's name and Social Security number and was unable to find either, reported on any quarterly contribution returns filed by the A.D.L. for the period 1/1/87 through 12/31/92. The State of California's lists of permanent A.D.L. employees fail to mention willock.

certified copy of the A.C.L.'s quarterly contributions for the dates 01/01/87 through 12/31/92 as well as copies of the State's A.P.L. employee lists have been supplied to me by Auditor Smith and I have attached a copy of it hereto and is now referenced as Exhibit "J".

If in fact Pullock is a permanent employee of the A.P.L. and the A.D.L. failed to report him as indicated above, the A.D.L. would be in violation of the felonies 2117.5 and 2118.5 of the Unemployment Insurance Code for each quarter. The time period indicated, 1/1/87 through 12/31/92, would represent 48 felonies committed by the A.D.L. in that any person who willfully fails to report, collect and pay over to the Department, State unemployment, disability insurance, and personal income taxes for each calendar quarter that wages were paid, violates these sections.

It is helieved that records and evidence of Bullock's permanent employment will be located in the San Francisco and Los Angeles A.D.L. offices based on statements, cancelled checks, and other documents and records seized and analyzed.

It is Auditor Smith's and your affiant's experience that sinesses and organizations keep the above described records, d/or computer equipment used to store business and employee cords, on their husiness premises and/or in their home, including any outbuildings.

To further describe and explain the items in Fxhibit "l" that are to be searched for and seized, you affiant explains:

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#### Employment and Payroll Pocuments:

It is your affiant's and auditor Smith's experience that these records will identify current and former workers; and when, where and type of work performed. They will also show gross earnings; payroll withholdings, in any; and actual amounts paid workers individually and in total. Notices to workers will help show direction and control over the workers' serves.

#### Receipts and Disbursements Pecords:

It is your affiant's and auditor Smith's experience that records maintained by businesses are sometimes incomplete. Bank records and cash transactions records provide a more complete account of payments to workers, vendors, and creditors, as well as payments from customers. These records will also identify the responsible party(s), and availability of funds and when they were available.

#### Accounting, Financial, Asset and Liability Records:

These records are relevant for an investigation of the suspected offenses as they provide information regarding ownership and control of the monies, assets, and liabilities involved in operating a business, as well as any information regarding questionable manipulation of business transactions and reports in the furtherance of the suspected offenses.

#### Customer Pocuments:

These records are relevant for an investigation of this type as they help identify customers and sources of revenue. This can be used to identify workers, as well as determine the availability of funds coming into the business.

#### Material and Foultment Purchase and Rental Records:

These records are important in identifying workers, determining how and when suppliers, vendors and creditors are paid, verification of ownership and control of the suspect's business, and verification that transactions are bona fide expenses, void of any payroll offsecting.

#### Insurance Pocuments:

It is auditor Smith's and your affiants experience that insurance applications policies, claims, invoices, premiums, and questionnaires help identify the principals and responsible parties of the husiness, identify workers, and show ability to pay.

#### Computer Fquipment and Pevices:

It is auditor Smith's and your affiant's experience that husinesses commonly use electronic data storage equipment and devices to store, summarize and manipulate and various types of husiness records described above.

It has been the experience of Auditor Smith and the affiant that husiness concerns, such as the A.D.L. maintain their personnel records, payroll records, and complete business records, including electronic data storage equipment and devices, on the premises of their business.

It is possible to ascertain the true work dates, hours worked, and wages earned by and paid to all employees of the A.P.L. by seizing and analyzing their complete husiness records.

In the basis of the foregoing, the affiant believes that evidence of violations of the previously described sections of the CUIC, Insurance Code and the Penal Code exists on the A.D.L.'s business addresses of 770 Market St., San Francisco, County of San Francisco and 10495 Santa Monica Plvd., Los Angeles, County of Los Angeles.

It is still believed that the crimes articulated in the 12/10/92 affidavit and search warrants regarding this investigation were committed by the subject already articulated. It is believed that if located, the financial records sought in this search warrant will in fact tend to show the financial relationships of the principals involved and will show who is directing these crimes and to what extent the principals are involved.

On the basis of this information, the affiant believes probable cause exists for the issuance of a search warrant as set forth in Penal Code Section 1574. Your affiant further believes that the foregoing described property, which comes within the provisions of the California Penal Code, Section 1524(a) Subdivision 4, is located at said business, the A.D.L.

In the exhibits corresponding to this affidavit I have blacked out the following due to the nature of this investigation with respect to the safety and well being of citizen's which would possibly be dangered if their names and or addresses were revealed:

\*Address references to Pov Rullock

\*Address references to Tom Gerard

\*Name and address references to police informants

\*Name and address references of any other persons deemed to be in danger should this information he divulged.

\*Confidential information received from the California "Pentartment of Motor Vehicles and/or the California Pepartment of Justice.

In addition to above I have omitted "Fxhibit R" from the 12/10/92 affidavit and search warrant. this exhibit contains law enforcement classified C.I.I. criminal information as well as D.M.V. registration and history information. This series of documents was included in the 2/5/93 affidavit and search warrants which is now referenced as <a href="#fxhibit">Fxhibit "A"</a>.

At this time the court has sealed the 12/10/92 and the 2/5/93 search warrants, affidavits, and returns. It is requested that they be unsealed to the extent that they pertain to the materials included in this search warrant and affidavit. I would further request that this court seal this original affidavit and its exhibits and instead release a redacted version of this document which is attached hereto as a redacted duplicate.

92527:cbd

#### EXPIRIT A

SEARCH WARRANT AND AFFIDAVIT BY INSPECTOR ROTH
February 5, 1993

#### AFFIDAVIT OF Inspector Ronald Roth

I am Inspector Ronald Roth of the San Francisco Police
Department. I prepared and signed the attached search warrant
affidavit which is attached hereto and incorporated by reference
as Exhibit #1. I requested and received search warrants for five
locations based on that affidavit from the Honorable Lenard Louie
Judge of the San Francisco Superior Court. I also read an
affidavit for a search warrant that was prepared and signed by
Sgt. Steve Gudelj of the San Francisco Police Department which I
believe to be true and which is attached hereto and incorporated
herein as Exhibit #2 which resulted in the issuance of a sixth
search warrant issued by the Honorable Lenard Louie.

I personally searched the Los Angeles office of the B'nai Brith Anti-Defamation League on December 10, 1992.

I have also examined all of the evidence seized from the following locations:

- A) The San Francisco Office of the ADL, located in San Francisco, CA
- B) The residence of Roy "CAL" Bullock located in San Francisco, CA
- C) The residence of Thomas Gerard located in Sausalito, CA
- D) A storage shed belonging to Thomas Gerard located in Sausalito, CA
- E) The Los Angeles office of the Anti-Defamation League

I have read and attached hereto an index of items seized from each of the above locations which I believe to be true and which I hereby incorporate by reference as Exhibit #3.

I have read a San Francisco Examiner article which was published on January 22nd 1993 which purports to be an interview with Thomas Gerard. I have copied that article and I hereby incorporate it herein by reference as Exhibit #4, so that this court may review what appears to be a statement by Thomas Gerard.

I have interviewed Roy "Cal" Bullock and he told me that he, Bullock is an employee of the San Francisco Office of the Anti-Defamation League although his salary comes to him by check from a Los Angeles attorney named Bruce Hochman. Prior to my interview of Bullock, he was told that what he told me would not be used against him.

In my interview with Roy Bullock, he told me that his position with ADL is that of a fact finder and that he has worked in an intelligence gathering position for ADL for almost forty years. During that time Bullock has infiltrated groups from right wing hate groups to Communist groups. Bullock also stated that he has gathered and prepared intelligence files on thousands of individuals. Bullock also stated that he has shared that information with various law enforcement agencies, and has been a paid informant for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

He also stated that he obtained confidential information from Thomas Gerard who gave him criminal offender record information (Known as rap sheets in California) and other state Department of Motor Vehicle information including driver's license information and motor vehicle registration information as well as confidential United States Postal Service Box holder information.

Bullock also told me that he had informants who he paid and that he was reimbursed by the ADL for those payments. On one occasion Bullock said that a Federal Agent from the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms introduced Bullock to an informant that belonged to the White Aryan Resistance. This occurred at the ATF office in early 1991. Bullock relayed information regarding this informant to ADL personnel, who then authorized money to be relayed to this W.A.R. informant in exchange for information on W.A.R. This information-for-money exchange lasted for several months, and Bullock said that all of the exchanges took place in the ATF office, in the presence of an ATF agent. He said that on at least one occasion the ATF agent passed the ADL money to the informant.

Bullock told me that he was normally given cashier's checks by the ADL for informant payments. Bullock would cash the checks and pay the informants in cash.

I have read the files seized from Roy "Cal" Bullock and from Thomas Gerard and I have found over ten thousand individual names in the files and I have found several hundred entries in those files wherein confidential rap sheet and DMV information was listed along side other less private or non governmental information.

The records reviewed from the seized computer containing approximately 10,000 names are divided up into various files which are named as follows:

"ANC": Contains information about people and organizations who are opposed to Apartheid.

"ARABS": Contains information about people and organizations who support an independent

state for Palestine.

"PINKO": Contains information about people and

organizations that are liberal.

"RIGHT": Contains information about people and

organizations which are reactionary.

"SKINS": Contains information about people and organizations in the Skinhead community.

All of the above described files contain some confidential Department of Motor Vehicle and criminal information.

In reading the files marked "ANC" the word "tasking" is used. This word is referenced both in file information located in Bullock's computer, as well as in files found in Gerard's computer (on separate documents). I am familiar with the meaning of this word in the intelligence community and it means a request for information from your intelligence controller. When I interviewed Roy Bullock, he confirmed this meaning and told me that Tom Gerard used this expression when inquiring about further assignments from the South African agent.

In my interview with Bullock, he told me that he did not pay Gerard for information obtained for ADL purposes. Bullock did tell me that he and Gerard worked together, independently from the ADL, for agents of the South African government. In this context, Bullock was paid a sum of approximately \$15,000 over a few years. Bullock said that he shared half of that money with Gerard. Bullock said that Gerard had introduced him to a South African agent a few years ago. This agent wanted information of interest to the South African government with respect to Bay Area Anti-Apartheid groups and other groups and activities contrary to the South African government interests. Over a three to four year period, Bullock and Gerard supplied this agent and another agent with information as articulated above.

Prior to my interview of Bullock, I talked with Special Agent Joel Moss of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. S/A Moss told me that he had interviewed Bullock and had made no promises to Bullock and that the interview proceeded without limitations. The information from my interview of Bullock was basically the same information that he related to S/A Moss.

Upon examining the items found in the search of Roy Bullock's residence, I located a computer print-out which is attached hereto and incorporated by reference as Exhibit ‡5. This print-out makes a financial reference to a cash payment of \$5500 made to Ton Gerard. In my interview with Bullock, he told me that Gerard had previously given Bullock a cash loan of \$5500 for the purchase of some artwork. This reference, as mentioned in Exhibit ‡5, was repayment of that loan.

A print-out was made of most of the computer records retrieved from Bullock's computer which was also seized in the search of his residence. One of these records, a file named "Roy92", is attached hereto and incorporated by reference as Exhibit 6. This file seems to be an expense record for 1992. In this record many payments totaling over \$3000 are noted as "ADL REFUND" or "ADL FUND".

On 01/21/93 San Francisco Police Officer Mark Hurley contacted Deputy Chief Lau and notified him that a subject in this investigation, Tom Gerard, had a locker assigned to him at the S.F. Police Athletic Club at Hunter's Point Naval Ship Yard, San Francisco. Officer Hurley is the club president and had heard Gerard had quit the police department and was possibly in the Philippines. He was concerned about the contents of the locker, as the locker was unlocked.

As a result of this notification, on 01/22/93, Sgt. Robert Hulsey responded to the San Francisco Police Athletic Club. Officer Hurley led Sgt. Hulsey to locker \$284, which was marked "Tom Gerard" on the outside. The locker was opened and found to contain, among routine toilet articles, a black brief case. Officer Hurley said that in his duties at the club, he had never seen a brief case stored in a locker.

Sgt. Hulsey then took custody of the brief case and took it to the Hall of Justice, Room 558, where it was secured under lock. It is your affiant's belief that Tom Gerard, knowing he was under investigation prior to his alleged departure for the Philippines, may have scattered some incriminating property at various locations, possibly anticipating search warrants.

It is your affiant's belief that items sought in the original attached search warrant, as articulated in "Exhibit A" of that warrant will be located in the brief case in question, now located in Room 558, Hall of Justice, San Francisco. It is requested that a search warrant be issued to search that brief case.

As articulated in the attached search varrant, Exhibit 1, it is your affiant's belief that a financial relationship exists between Bullock, Gerard, and the ADL, and now the South African Government as articulated above.

Your affiant has learned through Dept. of Motor Vehicle records that Ton Gerard has a loan outstanding in his personal vehicle, California plate Records indicate the San Francisco Police Credit Union as the legal owner of that vehicle. A printout of that record is attached hereto and incorporated by reference as Exhibit #7. Your affiant has personal knowledge that for a person to apply for a S.F. Police Credit Union car loan, that person must have a savings account there, and must fill out a credit application.

Your affiant also requests a search warrant be issued commanding the search of bank records and loan information, as articulated in Exhibit #8, at the S.F. Police Credit Union at 2550 Irving St., San Francisco. Your affiant believes that this search will tend to establish the financial relationships as indicated, with respect to deposits, withdrawals, and general account activity.

It is anticipated that upon service of this warrant, if issued, will require approximately 60 days for compliance. This is due to the extensive research required of the credit union in question. If this is the case, a declaration requesting additional time for the location and reproduction of the requested records will be filed with the court.

Among the items listed in Exhibit #3 and located at the search of the residence of Roy Bullock, The St., San Francisco, were blank Bank of America checks imprinted with the account name of: "East West Traders search St. #5 (415) The Traders. Your affiant knows that address and phone number to be that of Roy Bullock. Your affiant has been told by Bullock that East West Traders is the name of his art company. Your affiant has examined computer records seized from Bullock's residence and found no other references to any other banks or financial institutions. A copy of one of the seized blank checks is attached hereto and incorporated by reference as Exhibit #9.

As articulated in the original affidavit written by your affiant, it is still believed that a financial relationship existed between Roy Bullock, the Anti-Defamation League, and Tom Gerard, and other unknown persons. As articulated in the original affidavit, your affiant would like to search for bank records that would confirm this relationship. Your affiant believes that a search of the bank records at the Castro-Market Branch of the Bank of America, East West Traders Account, will result in cancelled check information as well as account activity that will show the relationship as indicated.

In conjunction with this ongoing investigation, and in accordance with the facts already articulated in the attached search warrant, your affiant requests the issuance of an additional search warrant to search the Castro-Harket Branch of the Bank of America, San Francisco, for the items articulated in Exhibit 10.

It is believed that Bullock or Gerard possibly have multiple accounts at their respective financial institutions. This could be done due to the nature of their involvement in intelligence gathering with respect to attempting to hide or conceal records or accounts. For convenience the accounts may appear at their normal banks, but under different names or company names. It is intended that any search warrant issued authorize the search and seizure of any information (as articulated in respective Exhibit lists) with respect to any or all accounts or loans in any way connected with Thomas J. Gerard and Roy E. Bullock.

It is also believed that Bullock and Gerard may in fact have safety deposit boxes issued to them, or may have access to any box or boxes under different names or company names. It would be common for someone that deals with large cash sums to store these monies a safety deposit box to avoid official scrutiny. It is also possible that incriminating papers and or records may also be stored in safety deposit boxes as well. There is a possibility that Bullock may have further records describing the \$5,500 paid to Tom Gerard, as loan repayment, as articulated by Bullock. It is therefore requested that any search warrants issued for financial institutions also authorize search of records pertaining to and search of the actual boxes themselves with respect to the circumstances articulated above, and outlined in the attached Exhibit lists.

It is anticipated that upon service of this warrant, if issued, will require approximately 60 days for compliance. This is due to the extensive research required of the bank in question. If this is the case, a declaration requesting additional time for location and reproduction of the requested records will be filed with the court.

Your affiant requests this affidavit and all other documents relating to this affidavit be sealed for the following reasons:

The warrant sought pursuant to this affidavit relates to an ongoing confidential investigation involving federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies. It is expected that additional warrants will be sought relating to this matter. If the information contained in this affidavit and in related documents is made public, it would compromise this investigation and make it difficult to continue. Therefore, I request all documents in this case be sealed, including but not limited to: this affidavit, it's exhibits, the warrants, the returns, the warrants and returns and all other documents from the originally sealed documents contained or mentioned herein as exhibits.

#### "LYHIBIL 41"

SUPERIN

-Hunicipal Court of the City and County of San Francisco, State of California

State of California )
City and County of San Francisco )

Search Warrant

The people of the State of California, to any police officer or peace officer in the City and County of San Francisco, State of California.

Proof by affidavit having been made this day before me by Inspector Ronald Roth of the San Francisco Police Department, and it appearing therefore that there is probable cause for believing that there is now located at:

- 1. see attached "Premises To Be Searched"
- The items referred to in "Exhibit A" attached hereto and incorporated herein by this reference.

And said property comes within the provisions of the California Penal Code section 1524 as noted below:

- XX (a) Subsection 1 (stolen property)
- XX (b) Subsection 2 (property or things used as a means of committing a felony)
- XX (c) Subsection 3 (property or things in the possession of a person with the intent to use it as a means of committing a public offense; or in possession of another to whom he may have delivered it)
- XX (d) Subsection 4 (property or things are evidence which shows a felony has been committed or that a particular person has committed

You are therefore commanded to search the premises above described for the articles and property described, and that if you find said articles and property, to bring it forthwith before me or retain it in your custody according to section 1536 of the California Penal Code.

Given under my hand and dated

1992

Judge of the Munitipal Court

of the City & County of San Francisco PC 1531 Announce that you are a peace officer with search warrant.

PC 1533 Warrant can only be served between 7am and 10pm. PC 1534 Warrant must be executed within 10 days

•,

State of California ) ss: Affidavit for City and County of San Francisco Search Warrant

The undersigned, Insp. Ronald Roth, being duly sworn, deposes and says upon reasonable and probable cause that:

1. The following described property, to wit:

see attached "Exhibit A" attached hereto and incorporated herein by this reference.

- 2. Is now located at and affiant requests the issuance of a warrant to search: see attached "Premises To Be Searched"
- And comes within the provisions of the California Penal Code Section 1524 as noted below:

a.	XX	Subdivision 1	(Stolen Property)
b.	xx	Subdivision 2	(Property or things used as a means committing a felony)
c.	xx	Subdivision 3	(Property or things in the possession of a person with the intent to use it as a means of committing a public offense; or in possession of another to whom he may have delivered it)
d.	xx	Subdivision 4	(Property or things are evidence which tends to show a felony has been committed or that a particular person has committed it)

The following facts establish the reasonable and probable cause upon which your affiant's statements are based:

see attached affidavit of Inspector Ronald Roth and incorporated by reference herein as though fully set forth hereto.

I further state and declare that I have disclosed and provided the Office of the District Attorney as part of this application for this search warrant and the Court reviewing this affidavit all known material facts, whether favorable or unfavorable to either side, including all information which may be exculpatory, and that said information is contained herein.

#### AFFIDAVIT OF Inspector Ronald Roth

Your affiant, Ronald Roth, states that I am employed as a San Francisco Police Inspector and have been so employed for over 15 years, and that I have investigated over 1,000 criminal cases within this time period. I further state that I am presently assigned to the Special Investigations Division of the San Francisco Police Department. Your affiant currently teaches for the San Francisco Polica Academy and for Los Medanos Community College in the area of Polica Science. Your affiant holds a Supervisory P.O.S.T. certificate issued by the State of California, and in the last three years has received 80 hours of advanced investigator's training at the San Francisco Polica Academy. Your affiant has also been trained by the California Department of Justice in a 36 hr. dignitary protection course and a 36 hour course on criminal intelligence.

Your affiant had been assigned to the Intelligence Division of the San Francisco Police Department from 1986 until late 1990, when the unit was disbanded. Beginning in 1988 and continuing into 1990, during the reorganization of that unit, your affiant had personal knowledge that numerous amounts of intelligence information and files on persons and organizations were systematically purged and shredded. The majority of the information purged was originally collected due to affiliation or association with a group or groups that posed a potential threat to public order and safety and were suspected of criminal activity.

Criminal intelligence reports or files, within a law enforcement entity, are generally a collection of data on an individual or group or location. These files could contain police reports, criminal histories, photographs, motor vehicle information and data, mug photos, computer print-outs, correspondence, memorandums from the maintaining agency. It is quite routine to have all of the above from other agencies in these files, as local, state, or federal law enforcement agencies often share information.

Your affiant has personal knowledge that several boxes of these documents were stored in a location in Room 558 of the Hall of Justice, 850 Bryant St., S.F., while awaiting to be shredded. This room was secured and while unstaffed, was locked and alarmed.

Your affiant also has personal knowledge that Inspector Thomas Gerard was assigned to the Intelligence Division during the time of the reorganization and Insp. Gerard had access to these files

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prior to them being purged, and while they were stored (awaiting to be shredded). Your affiant also had knowledge that Insp. Gerard was assigned to Room 558 (now the Special Investigations Division) from the above listed time period until his resignation from the San Francisco Police Department on 11/23/92.

Your affiant had knowledge that while assigned to Room 558 of the Hall of Justice, Insp. Gerard had access to two C.A.B.L.E. computer terminals in which criminal history, police reports or contacts, or motor vehicle information could be queried.

On 11/25/92 your affiant talked to Detective Tim Carroll of the San Diego Sheriff's Office, Special Investigations Unit. A transcript of that conversation is attached and now referenced as "Exhibit D".

Det. Carroll told your affiant that he has worked in that unit since 1983 and regularly investigates right-wing groups such as: White Aryan Resistance, the Skinheads, etc. In his investigations Det. Carroll keeps in close contact and liaison with the Anti-Defamation League (A.D.L.). This group, among other functions, acts as a collector of information on people or organizations that are of extreme anti-Semitic philosophies and are a possible threat to the Jewish people. Det. Carroll told your affiant that one of his main contacts in the A.D.L. is a man named Roy Edward Bullock, A.K.A. "Cal". Bullock works for the A.D.L. office in San Francisco as an investigator and is nationally known within the A.D.L. for his knowledge and information gathering abilities with respect to right-wing groups. Det. Carroll routinely obtains information from Bullock as it pertains to active investigations.

Det. Carroll told your affiant that Bullock often mentions the name Tom Gerard of the San Francisco Police Dept. as his contact in San Francisco. Det. Carroll said that he personally knows Gerard and in May of 1991 Det. Carroll, Gerard, and nine other law enforcement officers went on an A.D.L. sponsored trip to Israel. Det. Carroll said that this all-expense paid trip was more or less a thank you gift and a liaison gesture by the A.D.L. to continue the close relationships it has with specific law enforcement officers from the United States. On numerous occasions both Gerard and Bullock have mentioned to Carroll that they often exchange information. No specifics were given to Det. Carroll as to how these exchanges were made.

Det. Carroll told your affiant that Bullock does most of his work at the following phone number: 415-477 the Det. Carroll believes that this number is the number at Bullock's residence, but is not sure. Det. Carroll often calls that number, asking Bullock for information on various subjects or groups of interest. Within a few moments Bullock provides Carroll with the

information requested (while Det. Carroll is still on the line). Bullock has told Carroll that his data base is in his home computer, and it is Det. Carroll's belief that most of Bullock's work is done at home.

Your affiant has checked the 1992 telephone directory and found the phone number (415) to be listed to: Paul Daniel, address: The phone of the phone number (415) to be listed to: Paul Daniel, address: The phone of the phone of

Det. Carroll told your affiant that a few years ago Bullock told him that prior to the destruction of numerous San Francisco Police Department Intelligence Division files he was able to view them and record information from these files. Bullock further told Det. Carroll that Tom Gerard had allowed him to see the files. Det. Carroll told your affiant that he believed this took place about the same time that the S.F.P.D. Intelligence Division was in the process of reorganization and it was his belief that these files were the ones about to be purged.

Det. Carroll told your affiant that in the five or six years that he has known Bullock, Bullock has always been very straight forward and honest. To Det. Carroll's knowledge, all information that Bullock has ever supplied him has been very accurate and he would consider Bullock a reliable informant.

Your affiant has knowledge of and has read a Federal Bureau of Investigation report dated 11/02/92 in which a subject by the name of David M. Gurvitz was interviewed by the F.B.I. in Los Angeles on 10/30/92. According to that report, Gurvitz, from March of 1991 until October of 1992, had the job of "Fact Finding Librarian" for the A.D.L. office in Los Angeles. Gurvitz described his job as the same as Roy Bullock in San Francisco. Gurvitz said that one of his functions at the A.D.L. was to gather information about people and groups involved in extremist activity. Gurvitz listed such organizations as the Nation of Islam, the Ku Klux Klam, the American Nazi Party, the Aryan Nations, and various Skinhead groups as the examples of groups the A.D.L. is interested in.

Gurvitz knows Bullock well and classifies Bullock as his "mentor". While employed by the A.D.L. in Los Angeles, Gurvitz said he talked to Bullock two or three times weekly, either by phone or in person, usually exchanging information. Gurvitz told the F.B.I. that he does not personally know Tom Gerard, but he knows of Gerard through Bullock and knows that Gerard is employed by the San Francisco Police Department in an "intelligence" capacity. Bullock has told Gurvitz that Gerard shares law enforcement information with Bullock.

Gurvitz stated, as recorded in the F.B.I. report read by your affiant, that he periodically gave Bullock requests for information such as driver's license, or vehicle registration information, or criminal history data on individuals, which is available through C.L.E.T.S. He said that Bullock would always be able to supply the requested information through Gerard. Gurvitz said that virtually all of the information requested was in connection with his duties at the A.D.L. Gurvitz told the F.B.I. that the requests were so numerous that is was difficult to remember specific requests.

In the stated F.B.I. report, Gurvitz said that he recalled two instances in which he requested information through Bullock. In both of these instances the information sought did not pertain to A.D.L. duties, they were of personal nature for Gurvitz.

Gurvitz told the F.B.I. that in December of 1991, a neighbor of his in Los Angeles, named Dan Francu, was acting in an unstable or dangerous manner. Prior to knowing his name, Gurvitz was able to obtain Francu's vehicle license plate number. Gurvitz furnished that plate number to Bullock. Bullock later provided Gurvitz with Francu's name and address, and the fact that Francu had no apparent criminal history.

Gurvitz told the F.B.I. that the other incident occurred in the last year or so. Gurvitz applied for the position of advisor to a play that was being produced by the Simon Weisenthal Center in Los Angeles. The position was eventually given to a person named Rick Eaton. Gurvitz was angry that Eaton got this position as Gurvitz felt Eaton was less qualified. After discussing this matter with Bullock, Gurvitz gave Bullock the license plate number of Eaton's car to find out what he could. Bullock later furnished Gurvitz with some information, which apparently came from C.L.E.T.S.

Gurvitz acknowledged in his F.B.I. interview that the A.D.L. had received information that Gurvitz and Bullock had conversations that could be construed as threatening to Exton. These alleged conversations ultimately resulted in the dismissal of Gurvitz from his job at the A.D.L. in October of 1992.

Gurvitz noted to the F.B.I. that in both instances above, in which he solicited information from Bullock, Gurvitz did not recall specifically asking Bullock to have Gerard obtain the information requested, it was simply understood that Gerard could and would obtain the C.L.E.T.S. information.

The F.B.I. report read by your affiant further said that Gurvitz told agents that in the last year Bullock told him that Gerard had delivered him files of the S.F.P.D. concerning the American Nazi Party. These were files, belonging to the S.F.P.D. which

which were supposed to have been destroyed. Instead of being destroyed, Bullock told Gurvitz that Gerard had given them to Bullock, so Bullock could enter the information into the computerized filing system that Bullock maintains at his residence. Gurvitz said that this filing system functions essentially as the repository of the fact finding information for the San Francisco A.D.L. office. Gurvitz further said that there is a paper filing system at the A.D.L. in San Francisco, which Bullock also uses and maintains, but the filing system in Bullock's home computer is more up to date and complete and is much better than the system at the San Francisco A.D.L. office.

Gurvitz said that the files at the A.D.L. office in Los Angeles were also on paper, and he would often read them and add to them on that basis. Included in the Los Angeles A.D.L. files would be C.L.E.T.S. information obtained by Gurvitz from Bullock. Gurvitz told the F.B.I. that he had no knowledge of Gerard taking money from the A.D.L. for any information, but he was aware that periodically the A.D.L. sponsors and pays all expenses for trips to Israel for police officers, as a way of developing liaison with them and expressing gratitude for their assistance. Gurvitz said that these trips are essentially pleasure, but was not aware that Gerard had been on one.

Based on the information provided by Gurvitz in the above referenced F.B.I. interview, your affiant had the San Francisco Police Department's Computer Information Unit of the Records Division query the S.F.P.D. data system for any queries made from the two S.F.P.D. restricted computer terminals in the Special Investigations Division office, Room 558, the Hall of Justice, with regards to specific queries on the names "Eaton", "Francu", and "Gerard". Your affiant has received the results of that data search, part of which will now be referenced as "Exhibit B".

As indicated by the print-outs contained in "Exhibit B", on 12/31/91 at 0954 hrs. a query from S.F.P.D. terminal fSID1 (located in Room 558) for vehicle registration information on California license number "239RPF". The results, as indicated in "Exhibit B" show that the registered owner of that vehicle is: "Dan Francu" of Los Angeles. The subsequent queries within the next five minutes on that terminal show that criminal history was researched on "Dan Francu" with negative results. S.F.P.D. and California state regulations require that the user of the terminal requesting state criminal histories enter his or her name and a brief justification for the request. In this "Francu" request, the following identifier was entered by the user: "Gerard, SFPD, Crim". This series of queries also indicates that Francu was researched for driver's license information.

On 12/31/91, Insp. Ton Gerard was on duty and assigned to the Special Investigations Division, Room 558, of the San Francisco Police Department.

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Also indicated in "Exhibit B" was a query from S.F.P.D. terminal fINT2 (also located in Room 558) on 04/22/92 at 1602 hrs. on vehicle registration request for California license number "IPBM440". The results of that query indicate the registered owner of that vehicle to be: "Bonnie Eaton, hardward Blvd. 100, Calif." on 12/03/92, your affiant contacted a Rick Eaton with the same address in Sylmar and found that the car (1PBM440) was in fact his car until sold in July of 1992. Eaton further told your affiant that he was employed by the Simon Weisenthal Center in Los Angeles and he had recently learned, from his boss, that an unidentified former employee of the A.D.L. in Los Angeles had made some type of threat to him in the past.

On 04/22/92 Insp. Tom Gerard was on duty and assigned to the Special Investigations Division of the S.F.P.D., Room 558.

Your affiant has researched the names Rick Eaton and Dan Francu and found that neither were the subject of any formal San Francisco Police Department investigations. In addition to the two queries mentioned above, your affiant has located twenty additional subject queries, from the terminals in Room 558, in which the user identified himself or herself as "Gerard, SFPD", and which no formal San Francisco Police Department investigations could be located that involve these subjects. This list of 20 subjects will now be included and referenced as "Exhibit C". The actual queries in question are included in "Exhibit B".

Your affiant has researched the San Francisco Police Department Special Investigations Division daily watch reports and found that Insp. Gerard was on-duty and assigned to the S.I.D. office, Room 558, on each day in which the 20 subjects referenced in "Exhibit C" was queried on the computer terminals in Room 558.

Your affiant has knowledge of and has read Federal Bureau of Investigation report dated 11/24/92 titled "Roy Edward Bullock". In that report, synopsis are made of several F.B.I. interviews with Bullock over the last 2 1/2 years. In one of the interviews referenced in the F.B.I. report, Bullock told the F.B.I. on 09/29/92 that he has a computer located in a room on the first floor of his apartment building, which he calls his "library". He indicated that he uses this computer to store information in connection with his work.

Also mentioned in that F.B.I. report was a 09/30/92 interview in which Bullock admitted to having a "Bureau-generated" (F.B.I.) report at one time. This report, Bullock made reference to, mentioned the Nation of Islam and was obtained from the A.D.L. office in New York. Bullock further said that although he no longer had possession of that report he had entered some information from that report into his home computer. He said

when he was done with the report, he took it to the San Francisco A.D.L. office where he shredded it. On 11/5/92 in another F.B.I, interview Bullock told the agent that he had in fact gone back and looked at the F.B.I. document in question (previously reported as shredded by Bullock) and verified that it is not a classified document. This time, Bullock told the F.B.I. that the document had been provided by the A.D.L. office in Los Angeles.

Your affiant has interviewed Officer Sandi Bargioni of the Special Investigations Division of the San Francisco Police Department. Officer Bargioni told your affiant that over the last several years, she has had many contacts with the San Francisco A.D.L. office. A few years ago Officer Bargioni was invited to this A.D.L. office to meet some of the personnel there. At this time Roy Edward Bullock was introduced to her as doing work for the A.D.L. Although it was not formally explained, Officer Bargioni told me that it was understood that Bullock was working for the A.D.L. in some sort of intelligence capacity. After that occasion Bullock supplied Officer Bargioni with various amounts of information on some right-winged groups, such as Skinheads and the Whita Aryan Resistance.

Based on the facts above along with your affiant's training and experience, it is your affiant's belief that Insp. Tom Gerard did physically deliver to Roy Bullock restricted San Francisco Police Department Intelligence files which were awaiting destruction. It is also your affiant's belief that Tom Gerard accessed restricted law enforcement computers and passed along this unauthorized information to Bullock. It is your affiant's belief that Bullock, acting as an agent of the A.D.L., solicited various amounts of unauthorized law enforcement information from Insp. Gerard. It is believed that Insp. Gerard received, as a benefit, a trip to Israel from the A.D.L., as a reward for conveying restricted law enforcement information. It is believed that all or some of the following criminal violations may have occurred:

Penal Code: 502c.2, 502c.3, 502c.7, 11142, 11143, 32, 653f, 13302, 13303, 13304, 496, 499c, 459, 664/182

Government Code: 6200, 6201, 6250

Calif. Vehicle Code: 1808.45

Your affiant has knowledge that Insp. Ton Gerard, in the early 1980's, left the S.F.P.D. for a period of about three years and worked for the United States Central Intelligence Agency in an intelligence capacity. Your affiant has also developed

information that Roy Bullock has worked in his intelligence capacity, gathering information for over twenty years. Based on experience and training your affiant knows that both individuals would most likely place a high value on the intelligence information they develop and maintain. It is common for people with similar backgrounds to maintain and safeguard their data bases. To properly do that they would tend to keep back-up files or data bases at a separate location from the main source in case of destruction, theft, or energency. Your affiant has knowledge that Insp. Gerard had a personal word processor in which he used to process information. Insp. Gerard would always be in the habit of placing his data on floppy disks. It is believed Gerard would keep these disks at a "safe" location. It is believed Insp. Gerard may have access to a storage locker, rental space, or safe deposit box in which this data may be stored. That probability is also present with respect to Bullock, as persons such as him are only as valuable as their information they provide.

Your affiant has learned from experience that people such as Bullock may carry or conceal on their person, keys to other storage locations or safe deposit boxes, notes, notebooks, check registers, or any other correspondence that may contain computer access codes, lock combinations, or passwords to computer systems, or storage facilities. It is therefore requested that a search of Bullock's person be also authorized.

Your affiant has talked to investigators, both in private and in the public sectors. It is common knowledge that restricted law enforcement information has a value to people who need it, but don't have access to it. This information is often difficult to obtain for use by private subjects or organizations. One source has told your affiant that on the black market, criminal and Dept. of Motor Vehicles information on one person could run up to \$200 per inquiry.

It is believed by your affiant that pertinent evidence to the above referenced felonies will be found at the locations searched, attached and listed in "Premises To Be Searched". It is expected that these items, listed in "Exhibit A", will be located at Bullock's residence, 3674-16th St. #5 (verified by the F.B.I. and D.M.V. records) and or the residence of Tom Gerard, Berth 38 West Pier Kappas Marina, Sausalito (verified by S.F.P.D. records). It is also believed that Bullock has access to the San Francisco A.D.L. office and that he does maintain their filing system, therefore it is believed that much of the evidence will be located there, 121 Steuart St. 4302 (verified with affiant's personal knowledge). It is believed that at that A.D.L. location, travel and financial records will be located that will verify a financial relationship between Bullock and the A.D.L. and the A.D.L. and Gerard, with respect to the 1991 trip to Israel.

"It should be noted that your affiant has developed and verified information that on 12/04/92 the A.D.L. is scheduled to move its San Francisco office to 720 Market St. 8th floor, S.F. For several days following that date it is expected that A.D.L. property and files will be located at both locations.

It is expected that much of the solicited restricted criminal information and files will be located at the Los Angeles A.D.L. office as well, 10495 Santa Monica Blvd., L.A. (verified by telephone records and L.A.P.D.). Much of the information solicited by David Gurvitz was for use in the files at the Los Angeles A.D.L. office.

Your affiant prays that a search warrant be issued commanding a search of all locations listed on attached: "Premises To Be Searched" for the items articulated in "Exhibit  $\lambda$ ".

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Wherefore: Affiant prays that a search warrant issue commanding the search of the premises, persons and vehicles designated for the property or things above described in "Exhibit \lambda" and that such property be brought before a magistrate or retained as provided in section 1536 of the California Penal Code.

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Inspector Ronald Roth
Affiant

Subscribed and sworn to before se on this 8th day of

Judga of the Muniplest Court
In and for the City and County of San Francisco,
State of California

## Locations To Be Searched

1) 307-1246-14. Apartment  $\iff$ , San Francisco, Calif. and accompanying storage locations or rooms within that building under the control of Roy Edward Bullock.

3-story beige wooden apartment building with darker beige trim. The numbers 3674 clearly printed on the front door. Including any vehicles owned or under the contol of Roy Bullock.

2) 121 Steuart St. Suite #302, San Francisco, Calif.

6-story brown brick office building. The words: Jewish Community Federation and the numbers 121 clearly printed on the building.

3) 720 Market St. 3th Floor, San Francisco, Calif.

10-story brown office building with brass colored trin on the front door with numbers 720 clearly printed at the entrance.

4) Sausalito, Calif.

Single story wood sided houseboat, gang-plank on right side, clearly marked with numbers "38", 2 blue Canvas awnings on south side entrance door. Including any vehicles, or boats owned or under the control of Tom Gerard, and any Kappas Marina storage area assigned to Berth 38.

5) 10495 Santa Monica Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif.

4-story brown brick building on the N/E corner of Santa Monica Blvd. & Thayer St. with large gold block letters "ADL" printed on the front glass doors.

FBI INTERVIEW OF ROY BULLOCK

EXHIBIT B

-1-

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription	2/8/93
Date of Districts Date	-, -,

On January 22, 1993, ROY EDWARD BULLOCK, also known as CAL, was interviewed by Special Agents JOEL A. MOSS and JAY E. COLVIN of the San Francisco, California office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The interview took place at the law offices of Landels, Ripley and Diamond, located at J50 Steuart Street, San Francisco, California. Also present during the interview were attorneys ROBERT J. BREAKSTONE and DONALD P. MARGOLIS of the above law firm. representing BULLOCK.

BULLOCK was advised of the names and official identities of the interviewing agents, and of the nature of the interview. Prior to providing any information, BULLOCK was advised by attorney BREAKSTONE that this interview was voluntary and that there were no promises which the interviewing agents could make to BULLOCK, that the interviewing agents would be making a report of the interview, and that anything BULLOCK said could be used against BULLOCK in a court of law. BULLOCK thereafter provided the following information:

BULLOCK is employed as an investigator for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL). In ADL parlance, investigative functions are also referred to as Fact Finding, and investigators such as BULLOCK are called Fact Finders.

BULLOCK has been performing investigative functions for the ADL since 1954. At that time BULLOCK was living in Indianapolis, Indiana. BULLOCK there became exposed to and began reading material concerning anti-Semitism. BULLOCK recalled one such thing he read was a book called "Under Cover," which dealt with anti-Semitism in the 1930s. BULLOCK began obtaining and reading more material on anti-Semitism, and it did not take him long to acquire a number of such publications.

BULLOCK read in a newspaper about the ADL and ROBERT GORDON, who headed the ADL office in Indianapolis. BULLOCK contacted the ADL in Indianapolis, and offered his services to try to obtain information about organizations advocating anti-Semitism. BULLOCK had already been in contact with some such

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SA JOEL A. MOSS by <u>SA JAY F. COLVIN</u>	JAM/Bag	Date distant 1/23/93

This document contains nother recommendations not conclusion of the FBL. It is the property of the FBL and is lossed to your agency; it and its contents are not to be dustributed contain your agency,

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groups as a way of acquiring reading material and information on their anti-Semitic views.

BULLOCK's offer of assistance was accepted by the ADL. BULLOCK worked on an unpaid, volunteer basis, providing information on groups of interest to the ADL. BULLOCK's income at the time was derived through employment in his family's business, the Bullock Radio and Electric Company.

BULLOCK conducted investigations for the Indianapolis ADL office from 1954 to 1960. Also, during some of this time, BULLOCK provided, on an unpaid basis, various types of information to the Indianapolis Office of the FBI. BULLOCK explained that in 1957 he attended the Sixth World Youth and Student Festival in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Before he went, he contacted the Indianapolis FBI Office to advise of his upcoming travel, and to offer to provide information about it. Although BULLOCK can no longer recall the name of the FBI agent with whom he dealt, the FBI was interested in BULLOCK's offer. When BULLOCK returned from the above festival, he gave the FBI a briefing on it.

BULLOCK continued to provide information to the FBI until this relationship "petered out" a few months thereafter. BULLOCK corresponded with some American communists who had been at the above festival, and he provided the FBI with the results of this correspondence.

BULLOCK also specifically recalled providing the FBI with information on correspondence he had with BRENLEY H. BEAN, who was head of the Labor Party in British Guyana.

In addition to the information he provided to the FBI in Indianapolis about communist and left wing activities, BULLOCK also provided some information about right wing organizations. BULLOCK recalled attending a convention of a right wing organization in Louisville, Kentucky. BULLOCK shot some sixteen millimeter motion picture film there, which he then shared with the Indianapolis FBI Office, and with the ADL.

In 1960, BULLOCK moved from Indiana to southern California. This move was a personal choice of BULLOCK's and was not done at the behest of the ADL. Nevertheless BULLOCK did continue performing investigations for the ADL, though now

reporting to MILTON SINN of the Los Angeles ADL office.

Upon arriving in southern California, BULLOCK lived first in Port Huanems, and then in Seal Beach, and he conducted investigations for the ADL in the southern California area. SINN arranged for BULLOCK to receive a regular payment from the ADL so that BULLOCK would not have to support himself through other employment. BULLOCK recalled the ADL began at that time paying him \$75.00 per week. That increased over the years, until about four or five years ago he began gatting the amount he currently receives of \$550.00 per week. BULLOCK noted that ever since the ADL began paying him for his work, the payments have been made in a way designed to disguise the ADL as the source. The method, which is still in use, is for the ADL to give money for BULLOCK to an attorney in Beverly Hills, California, named BRUCE HOCHMAN. ROCHMAN then writes BULLOCK a check drawn on the account of Bruce Hochman and Associates.

When BULLOCK was living in southern California, his investigative focus was primarily on right wing organizations. As examples of such organizations about which the ADL wanted information, BULLOCK listed The American Nazi Party, The John Birch Society, The Minutemen and Colonel WILLIAM P. GALE's California Rangers. BULLOCK recalled the ADL was also then concerned about supporters of Alabama Governor GEORGE WALLACE.

BULLOCK collected information on the above groups and others. He did this by personally attending meetings of the groups and by corresponding with them. BULLOCK almost always used his true name when engaged in such activity, though he recalled he once used the name FIMER FINK when corresponding with GEORGE WALLACE's supporters.

When BULLOCK first began working for the Los Angeles ADL office, that office was located on Vermont Street. MILTON SINN did not want to risk BULLOCK being seen entering the ADL office, so he insisted on meeting BULLOCK in a car near the ADL office. Eventually BULLOCK persuaded SINN this was unnecessary and BULLOCK began going into the Los Angeles ADL office to make his reports. BULLOCK does believe that people engaged in far right wing activities are basically suspicious of others, and BULLOCK has in the past been accused by such people of being a "spy," but he has never considered it worth the trouble to make heavy use of fictitious names or to stay away from ADL offices.

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BULLOCK has always provided the ADL with written reports on the activities he performs for them. He submits his reports to the ADL office nearest to where he lives. That office then forwards the reports, or information from them, to ADL Headquarters in New York, New York as appropriate. BULLOCK has occasionally been called to appear at ADL Headquarters in order to personally provide information about matters with which he is familiar. BULLOCK noted the person in charge of Fact Finding at ADL Headquarters is IRWIN SUALL. SUALL has been in this position for many years and BULLOCK is personally acquainted with him.

BULLOCK is sometimes called upon to travel outside the area where he lives in pursuit of ADL interests. When this happens the ADL pays all travel expenses. BULLOCK recalled that while living in southern California he became acquainted with a women affiliated with the John Birch Society office in Los Angeles. Through this acquaintance BULLOCK was able to gain access to the Boston, Massachusetts office of the John Birch Society. In that office BULLOCK observed a file marked "ADL." BULLOCK reported his findings to IZ ZACK, then head of the Boston ADL office. This gave rise within the ADL to speculation that the ADL had a "leak" or had somehow been penetrated by the John Birch Society. Other places BULLOCK has traveled for the ADL include Colorado and Germany.

BULLOCK had only minimal contact with law enforcement personnel while living in southern California. He had no contact with the FBI. He did once try to assist he Los Angeles Police Department to identify some people in some photographs. That was done at the request of HARVEY SCHECHTER, who took over as head of Fact Finding for the ADL in Los Angeles (replacing MILTON SINN) while BULLOCK was living in southern California.

Even though BULLOCK did not have much contact with law enforcement personnel while living in southern California, he did apparently become known to them. This, BULLOCK believes, is what caused him to recaive at his Seal Beach residence in about 1964 a visit from a man identifying himself as CHARLES ROUBETILLE. ROUBETILLE said he was a recruiter employed by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). He said he traveled to college campuses to seek applicants for CIA employment. He told BULLOCK he had just stopped by to talk. He asked BULLOCK questions about the American Nazi Party and about British Guyana. He did not suggest BULLOCK seek employment with the CIA. BULLOCK added that

later, ROUBETILLE became the chief of the police department in Huntington Beach, California.

One other law enforcement official with whom BULLOCK had contact while living in southern California was named SHERMAN COOPER or HARRY COOPER. COOPER was head of the California Criminal Identification and Information Bureau. He was collecting information to be used in an "anti-paramilitary" law which was later passed. The ADL arranged for COOPER to talk to BULLOCK, and BULLOCK provided COOPER with some information on right wing natters.

BULLOCK recalled that although his investigative targets were prinarily right wing when he first arrived in Southern California, this began to change somewhat after HARVEY SCHECHTER replaced MILTON SINN. SCHECHTER, especially during the last five years BULLOCK lived in Southern California, encouraged BULLOCK to also investigate left wing organizations, and BULLOCK did as requested.

BULLOCK added that his nickname, CAL, did not originate until after he moved to California. Others in the ADL began to call him that, perhaps because he had noved to California. BULLOCK therefore adopted it as a nickname, and began signing his ADL reports with that name (though utilizing three lower case letters: c-a-1). He noted the name is not short for anything in particular, and is definitely not short for "CALZONE," as the San Francisco Examiner newspaper reported on January 22, 1993.

In approximately 1978 or 1979 BULLOCK moved from southern California to San Francisco. He has lived in San Francisco ever since. The move was a personal choice and was not at the behest of the ADL. In fact, shortly after arriving in San Francisco, BULLOCK was told by IRWIN SUALL that the ADL might not be able to afford to continue paying him as there did not appear to be enough work for him to do. Before long, however, the ADL asked BULLOCK to begin investigating the Posse Comitatus organization, and it was never again suggested that the ADL might have to discontinue paying BULLOCK. BULLOCK said the ADL had been given a grant by the AFL-CIO to investigate the Posse Comitatus.

BULLOCK noted that when he arrived in San Francisco, there was already another ADL Fact Finder working in the area.

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This person had been working to infiltrate the local Arab community, however, his efforts were exposed and he left the ADL and went to work as an attorney. This left BULLOCK as the only Fact Finder in San Francisco. BULLOCK added that which he arrived in San Francisco, the San Francisco ADL office, in his opinion, "wasn't much." Since then it has improved steadily, especially the past several years under the leadership of its head, RICHARD HIRSCHHAUT.

BULLOCK, too, has investigated Arab groups on behalf of the ADL since he moved to San Francisco. One such group is the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee. The ADL asked BULLOCK to investigate this group based on the belief that it was one of many Arab organizations in the United States which was receiving funding from sources in the Middle East. BULLOCK investigated, and did find some evidence to confirm this.

Another Arab organization BULLOCK has investigated for the ADL is the National Association of Arab Americans. Approximately six years ago the ADL had BULLOCK travel to Washington, D.C. to attend this group's annual congress. The ADL thought this group was receiving money from the Middle East and wanted BULLOCK to find the "smoking gun" to prove it. BULLOCK never really could prove this allegation but from what he does know he believes it is true. BULLOCK was accepted there, and was even selected as the head of a delegation which went to visit United States Congresswoman NANCY PELOSI. BULLOCK noted it was around this time that WILLIS A. CARTO of the Liberty Lobby organization published an article in that group's "Spotlight" newslatter in which BULLOCK was denounced as an ADL agent. BULLOCK admitted he is personally acquainted with CARTO.

Although BULLOCK has been employed full-time with the ADL in San Francisco, he has also developed a side business to supplement his income. BULLOCK explained that he and a partner, PAUL DANIEL, operate a business trading in Asian art, under the name East-West Traders. BULLOCK and DANIEL live together, and they operate this business out of their residence.

BULLOCK reiterated that he has always furnished his local ADL office with written reports concerning his investigations. If his reports incorporate information BULLOCK received from the police, and BULLOCK cites-the source, BULLOCK always refers to the source as "official friends."

The San Francisco ADL office did not discourage BULLOCK from having contacts with law enforcement personnel, the way the Los Angeles ADL office had. By the time RICHARD HIRSCHHAUT came to head the San Francisco ADL office, it was accepted that BULLOCK would have contacts with local police. Such contacts developed slowly. The ADL was still somewhat concerned about protecting BULLOCK's identity, even within the law enforcement community. By about 1985, however, BULLOCK's identity as an ADL investigator became openly known to the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD), as a result of BULLOCK's assistance to SFPD in solving a criminal bombing case involving one COY RAY PHELPS.

SFPD Inspector THOMAS JEFFREY GERARD was one of the investigating officers in the PHELPS case. BULLOCK, however, did not meet GERARD until about six months after PHELPS was prosecuted. BULLOCK met GERARD one day at the San Francisco ADL office. When BULLOCK arrived at the office GERARD was already there talking to HIRSCHHAUT, about a matter unknown to BULLOCK. HIRSCHHAUT introduced BULLOCK to GERARD.

BULLOCK recalled that he instantly liked, GERARD. They had lunch together, at a McDonald's restaurant, the same day HIRSCHHAUT introduced them. At lunch they discussed their jobs, and mutual interests, and agreed that they would remain in contact. BULLOCK characterized his contacts with GERARD, from then to the present, as professional.

BULLOCK likes GERARD and considers GERARD his friend. He has been to GERARD's residence and knows GERARD's wife JULIE. Nevertheless, their relationship is based on their mutual work interests and willingness to supply each other with information of value, and BULLOCK would not characterize the relationship as "social."

When GERARD was introduced to BULLOCK, GERARD was assigned to the SFPD Intelligence Unit. His main area of interest was right ving political organizations, though he would also occasionally have interest in a left wing group, such as No Business As Usual (NBAU), which BULLOCK described as a splinter group of the Revolutionary Communist Party. BULLOCK, as an ADL investigator, would have access to information about such groups, and he would share it with GERARD. BULLOCK would provide GERARD with information from ADL reports, or would on occasion give

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GERARD copies of complete ADL reports. BULLOCK said that in regard to NBAU, BULLOCK "developed" some people in that group, and he telephonically provided information on NBAU to GERARD.

GERARD would also supply information of value to NULLOCK. Within six months of their introduction GERARD was, for cample, providing BULLOCK with access to computerized criminal history, vehicle and driver's license information, to which GERARD had access as a police officer. BULLOCK estimated GERARD has supplied him with results of about fifty drivers license and/or vehicle registration checks based on BULLOCK's requests. Most of these have been from California Department of Motor Vehicles records, though some may have been from State of Arizona records. GERARD has also run a lesser number of criminal history checks for BULLOCK. BULLOCK recalled one person whose criminal history GERARD checked for him was named CARL HOERLER. BULLOCK recalled that GERARD determined HOERLER had a record in this regard, but it was so old that it was not in the California criminal history computer data base, so had to be looked up manually. GERARD caused this manual review to be done, and gave the results to BULLOCK.

GERARD would always fulfill BULLOCK's requests for information if he could. BULLOCK did not know if GERARD obtained for him any criminal history information from the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) computer system. BULLOCK said he is not familiar with NCIC and so would not have known to ask GERARD to check it for him, and he does not recall GERARD mentioning NCIC to him.

In asking GERARD to give him information from Alifornia Department of Motor Vehicles and State criminal story records, BULLOCK knew he was not entitled to receive it as he is not an "officer of the court." GERARD and BULLOCK never discussed BULLOCK's lack of authority to receive this information. It was understood that BULLOCK would be very careful with what he did with the information GERARD gave him, and that BULLOCK would not release it except to the ADL or other law enforcement officers. BULLOCK added that GERARD did once warn him concerning having contacts with one particular law enforcement official. SULLOCK knew of a State of California official named and that she was supposed to be knowledgeable concerning right wing matters. BULLOCK might have been interested in talking to her about such matters, but GERARD

suggested he not, as might not be careful concerning how she disseminates information she may learn from BULLOCK. BULLOCK said there has never been a "leak" of such information from him, and it has never been provided by him to "third parties" or sold by him, except to the South African Government (see below).

Computerized law enforcement records were not the only types of records to which GERARD gave BULLOCK access. GERARD also gave BULLOCK information from SFPD files, including giving BULLOCK complete files, and GERARD gave BULLOCK police surveillance photographs of demonstrators. GERARD also supplied BULLOCK with information concerning the holders of Post Office boxes in which BULLOCK was interested. BULLOCK assumed this information came from the United States Postal Service, but he never questioned GERARD about the source. BULLOCK was just glad to have the information.

The complete SFPD files BULLOCK received from GERARD concerned the National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP) from 1974 to 1976 or 1977. These were files which the SFPD was supposed to destroy as part of a change in SFPD policy regarding the types of intelligence investigations the SFPD could conduct and information they could maintain. Rather than allow the NSWPP files to be destroyed, GERARD gave them to BULLOCK at BULLOCK's residence. This was in about 1989. GERARD asked BULLOCK-if BULLOCK wanted them. BULLOCK replied that he would "keep them" for GERARD, and GERARD turned them over to him.

BULLOCK examined the NSWPP files, and entered into his personal computer information from them that BULLOCK did not already have. BULLOCK explained that he first got a computer in about 1987. He began storing information and writing reports on it, instead of doing everything on paper. BULLOCK has in this way amassed a large amount of information. He has information on left wing and right wing and Arab organizations and personalities. BULLOCK estimated his computerized "Right Wing" file contains names of about 6,000 people. Some are members of right wing organizations; others may only have written to a right wing organization to request information. As BULLOCK would acquire more information about people in his computer, or about people he did not yet know of, he would add to his data files. He used the NSWPP files for this purpose.

Among Arab groups which are listed in BULLOCK's

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computer are the Arab Palestine Fund and the November 29 Committee on Palestine. BULLOCK got a list of names associated with the Arab Palestine Fund not from GERARD (though GERARD had dealt with this group) but from an anonymous source in Berkeley, California. BULLOCK got information on the November 29 Committee on Palestine by taking trash from that organization's office on Valencia Street in San Francisco. BULLOCK would write reports based on what he found in the trash, and would share the reports with GERARD. BULLOCK also gave the trash to GERARD for GERARD to examine. GERARD would later return the trash to BULLOCK.

BULLOCK noted that the SFPD files and photographs, which the SFPD recently recovered from his residence via a search warrant, are the same ones GERARD gave him. BULLOCK did not destroy any of the SFPD files GERARD gave him, even after BULLOCK learned that the FBI was conducting an investigation into his and GERARD's activities. BULLOCK's computer, also seized by the SFPD, is the same one into which he has entered information as described above.

BULLOCK did not destroy files and information given to him by GERARD because he is philosophically opposed to the elimination of the ability of police to conduct investigations into organizations which BULLOCK believes are truly dangerous. BULLOCK believes it is a mistake to destroy information already collected about such groups. BULLOCK cited as an example the riots which took place in San Francisco in 1992 following the acquittal of the police officers in the "RODNEY KING" case in Simi Valley, California. The Revolutionary Communist Party was involved in much of the violence in San Francisco, yet the SFPD was without much of the intelligence they should have had about this group because its files on this group had been destroyed. BULLOCK knows from talking to GERARD that GERARD feels the same way about the destruction of SFPD intelligence files. They believe it is a mistake to let this information be lost.

Although some of the information from the SFPD files GERARD gave him ended up in reports BULLOCK wrote for the ADL (especially regarding HOERLER and one other person), BULLOCK does not recall that he told RICHARD HIRSCHHAUT or IRMIN SUALL or anyone else in the ADL that he had then, with the possible exception of Fact Finder DAVID GURVITZ of the Los Angeles ADL office.

BULLOCK has no knowledge that GERARD has ever received money from the ADL. The only thing of value BULLOCK knows of GERARD receiving from the ADL was a trip to Israel in 1991. BULLOCK has not paid any money to GERARD in exchange for GERARD's providing BULLOCK with law enforcement information. BULLOCK and GERARD have taken turns buying lunches for each other during their meetings. Also, in about 1990, BULLOCK borrowed \$5,000.00 from GERARD. BULLOCK used the money to buy some works of the artist JACOULET. BULLOCK resold the pieces and repaid the \$5,000.00 to GERARD, along with \$500.00 in interest, in February, 1991.

There was, however, between 1987 and 1991, one other source of funds for both BULLOCK and GERARD. That source was the government of the Republic of South Africa.

In about 1986, BULLOCK learned that the Consul General of the South African Consulate in Los Angeles would be speaking in Las Vegas, Nevada, at a neeting organized by right wing extremist WILLIS CARTO. Suspecting that the Consul General did not know who WILLIS CARTO is, BULLOCK suggested to GERARD that they might want to warm the South Africans. GERARD agreed and informed the Consul General, who canceled his appearance. Later, GERARD told BULLOCK he (GERARD) had received a letter of thanks from the Consul General.

Around four to six months later, probably in 1987, GERARD telephoned BULLOCK one day. GERARD said a South African intelligence officer was in San Francisco and wanted to meet BULLOCK if BULLOCK was agreeable. BULLOCK agreed to meet the officer, so GERARD drove (in his personal car) to BULLOCK's residence and picked up BULLOCK. Together they drove to the San Francisco hotel where the South African was staying. BULLOCK cannot now recall which hotel it was, but believes it may have been in the Fisherman's Wharf area of the city.

BULLOCK, GERARD and the South African, who called himself Mr. HUMPHRIES, met in HUMPHRIES' hotel room. HUMPHRIES said he was interested in acquiring information on anti-apartheid activities in the United States. BULLOCK recalled HUMPHRIES specifically mentioned being interested in an organization called the San Francisco Anti-Apartheid Committee, and wanting to know about another group which was advocating divestments regarding corporations doing business with South Africa. HUMPHRIES, who

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indicated he was from New York, did not appear to know very much about the anti-apartheid movement on the West Coast. HUMPHRIES offered to pay BULLOCK \$150.00 per month in exchange for information. BULLOCK noted that much of the information HUMPHRIES said he wanted was already in the possession of BULLOCK and the ADL. BULLOCK agreed to HUMPHRIES' proposal, but he told HUMPHRIES that since he (BULLOCK) was personally opposed to apartheid, the only reason he was agreeing to provide information was that it appeared the South African Government was making progress in ending that system. BULLOCK indicated that if it appeared this progress was being reversed, BULLOCK's cooperation would cease.

HUMPHRIES gave BULLOCK a Post Office box number in Greenwich, New York, to which BULLOCK should send information. BULLOCK could not recall the number or name which went with the box, except that it was a nam's name, probably with the first initial "J".

GERARD, who was present throughout the meeting, was not asked by HUMPHRIES to provide any information, nor was he offered money by HUMPHRIES in BULLOCK's presence. Apparently, though, GERARD had met HUMPHRIES before BULLOCK did. HUMPHRIES knew GERARD was a police officer. GERARD also told HUMPHRIES that he (GERARD) had been employed by the CIA. BULLOCK heard GERARD tell HUMPHRIES some information about where in the world GERARD had been sent on CIA assignments.

This meeting with HUMPHRIES lasted only about twenty minutes. Although the topic was not specifically addressed, BULLOCK understood the relationship between him, GERARD and HUMPHRIES was to be confidential. HUMPHRIES did not give BULLOCK any money at this meeting, but indicated he would bring the money to BULLOCK at their next meeting. When the meeting was over, GERARD drove BULLOCK home. On the way to BULLOCK's residence, BULLOCK offered to split with GERARD the money HUMPHRIES said he would give to BULLOCK. GERARD declined that offer.

Shortly after the meeting, BULLOCK sent to HUMPHRIES a copy of the official newsletter of the San Francisco Anti-Apartheid Committee. Over the next few months, BULLOCK also sent other items to HUMPHRIES. BULLOCK emphasized that the only thing the ever gave HUMPHRIES (or HUMPHRIES' successor, described below) was what BULLOCK termed "public source" information. BULLOCK

denied ever giving the South Africans any "confidential" information. As an example, BULLOCK noted one of the things HUMPHRIES and his successor were interested in was the relationship between San Francisco attorney MELVIN BELLI, BELLI's wife, and South African bishop and anti-apartheid activist DESHOND TUTU. The South Africans wanted to know everything about the relationship between the BELLIS and TUTU, especially any sexual impropriety. When a column by journalist HERB CAEN appeared in the <u>San Francisco Chronicle</u> newspaper which discussed Mrs. BELLI, TUTU, and the Sultan of Brunai, BULLOCK rewrote the column to make it appear to be his own work, and submitted it to HUMPHRIES.

A second meeting with HUMPHRIES occurred about six months after the first. BULLOCK had expected HUMPHRIES to return to San Francisco in four or five nonths. About three months after the first meeting, HUMPHRIES had telephoned BULLOCK at BULLOCK's home and said he would come to San Francisco "later". When HUMPHRIES did finally arrive, he telephoned BULLOCK from his San Francisco hotel room to say he was ready to meet. The call came in the late afternoom or early evening. BULLOCK telephoned GERARD, GERARD picked up BULLOCK, and they met with HUMPHRIES that same day, at HUMPHRIES' hotel room (Again, BULLOCK could not recall the name of the hotel).

At this second meeting, HUMPHRIES thanked BULLOCK for the material he had sent (probably a total of three reports). He also asked questions about the BELLIS and about divestment pressure groups. HUMPHRIES and GERARD traded "war stories," with GERARD describing his adventures in the CIA and the SFPD. BULLOCK complained to HUMPHRIES about the money HUMPHRIES had promised to pay, as it had been six months since their last meeting and BULLOCK had not yet received any money.

HUMPHRIES then gave BULLOCK \$500.00 in cash, apologized and promised that the money situation would get better. BULLOCK at this time may also have given HUMPHRIES some reports BULLOCK had written from material contained in local media reports.

HUMPHRIES also said that he was being reassigned. Then, either HUMPHRIES or GERARD told BULLOCK that a new South African diplomat would be assigned to handle BULLOCK (BULLOCK noted that, while he knew HUMPHRIES was a diplomat, he never was told HUMPHRIES' diplomatic title.)



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This second meeting with HUMPHRIES lasted about thirty minutes. It was the last time BULLOCK met with HUMPHRIES. BULLOCK described HUMPHRIES as a white male, in his early fifties, about five feet, ten inches tall and of average weight. He had greying hair, sideburns, a reddish complexion, and wore glasses. He was also "thick jowled," and he spoke very good, though accented, English.

When his second neeting with HUMPHRIES was over, GERARD drove BULLOCK back to BULLOCK's residence. On the way there, BULLOCK asked GERARD why HUMPHRIES was so interested in the information he had asked for that he was willing to pay money for it. GERARD advised BULLOCK to just accept the situation and the money, as it is a characteristic of intelligence officers to want to acquire all the information they can.

BULLOCK said he was somewhat politically uncomfortable dealing with the South Africans, and he did not think the money he was getting was that good. BULLOCK indicated to GERARD he was not sure he wanted to continue supplying information to the South Africans. GERARD, however, encouraged BULLOCK not to quit. BULLOCK asked GERARD if he would like half of the money HUNDHRIES had paid him. GERARD said he would, and BULLOCK gave him \$250.00 in cash. They agreed that from that point, they would split equally any money the South Africans paid.

After the second meeting with HUMPHRIES, BULLOCK sent a couple more reports to the above Post Office box. Then, at about 7:00 a.m. one day about six months later, BULLOCK received a telephone call at his residence. The caller was a male, who spoke with an accent and identified himself as "LOUIE from South Africa." He said he was in San Francisco and he asked BULLOCK if they could meet. LOUIE was staying at a hotel on Castro Street, near BULLOCK's residence. BULLOCK agreed to meet, and drove over to LOUIE's hotel. BULLOCK did not take GERARD with him.

BULLOCK net LOUIE in LOUIE's room. LOUIE was a white male who appeared to be about thirty-five years old. He was clean shaven and had what BULLOCK termed "dark features." He was well dressed, in a sweater and slacks.

When BULLOCK entered the room, LOUIE turned a radio up loud, and sat close to BULLOCK, evidently trying to make sure they could not be overheard. After a short time, BULLOCK

suggested they leave the hotel and talk elsewhere. LOUIE was reluctant, but BULLOCK indicated he had little tolerance for "spy stuff." Finally LOUIE agreed to allow BULLOCK to drive him around and show him a bit of San Francisco.

They left LOUIE's hotel and drove around for a while in Sullock's car, stopping for coffee at a cafe in the Presidio of San Francisco. BULLOCK learned that LOUIE was married, had two children, and that his wife had an import/export business in Johannesburg, South Africa. LOUIE said he was attached to the South African Consulate in New York City. He said the operations of his office were separate from those in the South African Embassy in Washington, D.C. He admitted he was with South African Intelligence, and that he had replaced HUMPHRIES in New York. BULLOCK asked him if he was the "passport officer" at the Consulate. LOUIE neither confirmed nor denied this.

LOUIE appeared to be more "liberal" to BULLOCK. He agreed with BULLOCK that blacks must eventually share power with whites in South Africa. LOUIZ added, though, that the African National Congress (ANC) could not take part in the power sharing, as they are terrorists.

LOUIE tried to get BULLOCK to agree to use some basic precautions in dealing with him. LOUIE, for example, wanted BULLOCK to obtain a local Post Office box and some local coin telephone numbers, or other "safer" numbers so LOUIE would not have to contact BULLOCK at BULLOCK's residence. BULLOCK refused, reiterating that he did not want to play "spy games." He told LOUIE that LOUIE would just have to contact BULLOCK at home.

BULLOCK may have given LOUTE a couple of reports at this meeting, but LOUTE also told BULLOCK he wanted him to increase his production. LOUTE reiterated the same areas of interest that HUMPHRIES had described (anti-apartheid groups, South African business divestments, and the BELLI/TUTU relationship). He told BULLOCK that South African Intelligence had another informant on the West Coast. LOUTE described this person as a young man who was a member of an organization called Young Americans For Freedom. He said this person had been targeted against an organization in Oakland, California called Technica. LOUTE told BULLOCK he would like him to also report on Technica.

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BULLOCK complained to LOUIE about the money the South Africans were (not) paying him. LOUIE responded by giving BULLOCK a white envelope containing about \$750.00. The money was largely in the form of \$100 bills. LOUIE asked BULLOCK if he would like to be paid in South African Krugerrands. BULLOCK said he would rather have American currency.

The meeting with LOUIE lasted a total of about twenty-five minutes. BULLOCK then drove LOUIE back to his hotel. BULLOCK telephoned GERARD the same day, and told him of the meeting with LOUIE. GERARD came to BULLOCK's residence (possibly that same day, or the next), asked BULLOCK about the "tasking" he had received from LOUIE, and split with BULLOCK the money LOUIE had provided.

There were additional meetings between LOUIE and BULLOCK and GERARD. BULLOCK estimated the total number of neetings with LOUIE to be six or seven, all in approximately 1989, 1990 and 1991. All were in San Francisco and the last was in 1991. BULLOCK stated he would be willing to provide a detailed description of each meeting. He said GERARD was present at all the meetings with LOUIE, except for the first (described above) and the last. BULLOCK estimated HUMPHRIES and LOUIE provided about \$15,000-\$16,000 in cash in total, which BULLOCK split equally with GERARD. BULLOCK said he did not discuss with GERARD what GERARD did with his half of the money. BULLOCK did not think any of the meetings with the South Africans which GERARD attended with him took place while GERARD was supposed to be on duty with SFPD. BULLOCK believes this because the meetings were in the late afternoon/early evening and BULLOCK knows GERARD generally worked a daytime shift with SFPD. BULLOCK also said that no one in the ADL was aware of his and GERARD's relationship with the South Africans.

BULLOCK believes he was the supplier of at least ninety percent of the material the South Africans got form him and GERARD. BULLOCK knows that GERARD did send some material to the South Africans himself, as GERARD told him so. BULLOCK said he did not know what GERARD had supplied to the South Africans independent of BULLOCK.

BULLOCK also knew that GERARD maintained a Post Office box near GERARD's residence, which BULLOCK believes was used by GERARD to communicate with the South Africans. GERARD offered

BULLOCK the use of the box, but BULLOCK declined.

BULLOCK recalled that after the FBI attempted to interview him and GERARD about the above issues, he and GERARD got together a few times to discuss the situation. GERARD told BULLOCK not to worry about the FBI's investigation, saying that it was all "bullshit." BULLOCK did note, though, that on a visit he made to GERARD's residence, GERARD was unwilling to discuss the matter inside the residence out of fear of being overheard by electronic surveillance. GERARD did not give BULLOCK any instructions on how to deal with the FBI, and did not tell him to lie to the FBI.

BULLOCK added that he did not know GERARD was going to move to the Philippines and vow not to return to the United States. BULLOCK did receive a Christmas card from GERARD, on December 10, 1992. The card read, "Nothing has changed. Your friend, THOMAS."

BULLOCK said he was aware the FBI believed be had in his possession an FBI report concerning the Nation of Islam (NOI). BULLOCK confirmed that he did once have such a report. BULLOCK explained that a few months previously he had been contacted by MIRA BOLAND, an ADL Fact Finder in Washington, D.C. BOLAND told BULLOCK she was preparing a newspaper article regarding the NOI. She needed some information concerning the disposition of a case or cases involving the arrest of some NOI members. She asked BULLOCK if he could find out anything for

In trying to assist BOLAND, BULLOCK spoke to Los Angeles ADL Fact Finder DAVID GURVITZ. GURVITZ (whom BULLOCK estimated he spoke with almost every day) mentioned having an FBI report concerning the NOI. BULLOCK asked GURVITZ to send him a copy of the document, and GURVITZ complied. When BULLOCK received the report, he noted it was five or six years old and appeared to be poorly written and containing inaccuracies. BULLOCK did not find it to be of much value to him. He destroyed his copy after reading it.

Later, after FBI Agents questioned him about the report, BULLOCK asked GURVITZ to send him another copy, so BULLOCK could try to see why the FBI was so concerned about it. This copy BULLOCK left at the San Francisco ADL office.

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BULLOCK said he had not dealt with any foreign intelligence service besides that of South Africa. He also has no knowledge that GERARD had dealt with any foreign intelligence service besides that of South Africa.

BULLOCK said it is a common misconception that the ADL is somehow affiliated with the Israeli intelligence service. Even GERARD was of this opinion until BULLOCK corrected him. BULLOCK evenlained that shortly after he met GERARD, a man.named was arrested and jailed in Brazil for trying to snuggle guns into that country. Was a member of the American Nazi Party, a soldier of fortune, and a former White House guard. He was also acquainted with GERARD. School activities were part of an Israeli Mossad operation, asked BULLOCK if there was not something the ADL could do to get VERDUIN out of jail. BULLOCK took this opportunity to explain to GERARD that there is no connection between the ADL and Israeli intelligence (BULLOCK added that a story about the above incident with appeared in Image magazine.)

BULLOCK also said he is not aware that any person listed in any of the files in his computer is in any danger for any reason.

Regarding his computer, BULLOCK was shown a list (attached) of files which were in his computer when it was seized by SFPD. BULLOCK was asked to review the list and identify any items he turned over to the South Africans. BULLOCK identified the following files as those he definitely recalls giving to HUMPHRIES or LOUIE: GLOBAL - 2 DBX, SA11, SA8, SA9, SAPRESS and TRANSAF. BULLOCK added that others on the list may also have been provided to the South Africans, but he would have to review the actual documents to be sure. BULLOCK also said that not all the items he turned over to the South Africans may appear on the list, as some may have been erased from the computer, and others he prepared using a typewriter. BULLOCK also recalled that he gave the South Africans reports on a local resident named KEVIN DANAHER, and that some of the material for the DANAHER reports came from BULLOCK's searches of DANAHER's trash. BULLOCK also recalled that LOUIE once asked him to attend and report on a meeting in Berkeley, California, regarding that city's "sister city" relationship with Soweto, South Africa, but that BULLOCK did not do as requested.

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## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription	2/2/93
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On January 26, 1993, ROY EDWARD BULLOCK, also known as CAL, was interviewed in the presence of his attorneys DONALD P. MARGOLIS and ROBERT J. BREAKSTONE, at the law offices of Landels, Ripley and Diamond, 350 Steuart Street, San Francisco, California. No promises were made by interviewing Agents to BULLOCK to induce him to agree to the interview. BULLOCK was advised of the names and official identities of the interviewing Agents, and of the nature of the interview. BULLOCK then provided the following information:

It was noted that BULLOCK had, on January 22, 1993, advised interviewing Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) that he and former Inspector THOMAS JEFFREY GERARD of the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD) had previously been engaged in a relationship with two persons BULLOCK believes were officers of the intelligence service of the Republic of South Africa, and that BULLOCK or BULLOCK and GERARD had several meetings with these two persons between approximately 1987 and 1991. BULLOCK agreed, but indicated he was unable to recall the specifics of each meeting. He said, however, that he could describe what occurred over the course of the meetings.

BULLOCK estimated the total number of meetings between the South Africans and him or him and GERARD to be between eight and ten; certainly not more than twelve. All the meetings took place in San Francisco, California. It seemed to BULLOCK they were always held after 7:00 p.m. They generally lasted between thirty and forty minutes. The first two meetings were with a man who identified himself to BULLOCK as HUMPHRIES; the remainder were with a man who identified himself as LOUIE. GERARD was present for all the meetings except for the first and last nestings with LOUIE. All the meetings with LOUIE, except for the first and one other, occurred in LOUIE's rented room at a Travelodge motel in the Fisherman's Wharf area of San Francisco. The meetings with LOUIE occurred approximately every three to five months, except for one summer period (probably in 1990) when LOUIE said he would be going to the "motherland" for eight weeks of leave; this may have delayed somewhat the next meeting. BULLOCK said it is possible, though he is not sure, that GERARD

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SA JOEL A. MOSS SA KATHLEEN M. PUCKETT	Date dictated	1/27/93

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used the term "Uncle LOUIE" when BULLOCK and GERARD discussed LOUIE.

Based on an agreement made during the initial meeting with HUMPHRIES, BULLOCK was usually given an amount of American currency (generally in the form of \$100 bills) during each meeting. BULLOCK estimated that such cash payments occurred during six or seven of the meetings. Each time a payment occurred, except for the last, BULLOCK was asked to sign a receipt for the money. The receipt would be in the form of a small piece of paper bearing wording to the effect, "Subject has received \$ (amount) on this date." BULLOCK would always sign the receipt using the name "cal." The use of the name "cal" was BULLOCK's choice; he was not given a code name or number to use by the South Africans. Though GERARD would usually be present when BULLOCK received the money, he would not be required to sign a receipt.. After the meetings, BULLOCK and GERARD would divide the money equally between them.

BULLOCK noted the original agreement he had with HUMPHRIES called for BULLOCK to receive a monthly payment for services of \$150.00. At some later point, this was raised to \$250.00 per month. Also, at the last meeting between BULLOCK and LOUIE, BULLOCK was given an amount for services plus \$500.00 in expense money for a trip BULLOCK took to Los Angeles to gather information for South African intelligence. BULLOCK noted it was repeatedly stressed during the meetings with LOUIE that the amount of money received could or would increase as his and GERARD's production of information increased.

BULLOCK indicated that what the South Africans wanted, and what he and GERARD worked to provide, was information relating to the efforts of persons or groups in the United States who were opposed to the South African Government and to that country's system of apartheid. BULLOCK said he frequently told LOUIE what an odious system apartheid is, and that he (BULLOCK) was agreeing to provide information about opponents of that system only because it appeared to BULLOCK that the South African Government was making progress in ending that system. It appeared to BULLOCK that LOUIE knew little about the United States, the United States Congress, or the political situation in the United States or San Francisco.

BULLOCK indicated that most of the information he and

GERARD supplied to HUMPHRIES and LOUIE was from public sources such as newspapers and pamphlets put out by anti-apartheid organizations. Some of the newspapers BULLOCK used as sources of information included the Daily CAL, Bay Area Guardiam and San Francisco Chronicle (including HERB CAEN columns), along with various "looney left" newspapers and publications. BULLOCK could tell that HUMPHRIES and LOUIE were familiar only with the New York Times and Washington Post newspapers, so he felt confortable providing them with material from other papers. BULLOCK also personally attended meetings of organizations of interest to the South Africans, as did GERARD on at least one occasion. BULLOCK and GERARD also responded to requests by the South Africans for information on particular topics or people, with GERARD sometimes supplying restricted identifying and criminal history information, which he could obtain through his position as a police officer. BULLOCK would frequently question GERARD as to why the South Africans were willing to pay money for the information he and GERARD were providing. GERARD would always tell BULLOCK not to question it, saying, "CAL, they're happy Campers."

BULLOCK would write reports for the South Africans based on information he and/or GERARD would obtain. Sometimes the reports would be given to HUMPHRIES or LOUIE during the meetings in San Francisco. The rest of the time BULLOCK would send the reports to a Post Office Box address in New York which had been supplied to him by HUMPHRIES and which LOUIE told BULLOCK he (LOUIE) used as well. The reports were sent via regular United States mail. It was BULLOCK's impression from talking to LOUIE that LOUIE lived somewhere near the location of the above Post Office Box and could service the box on his way to and from his work at the New York South African Consulate. BULLOCK recalled that for the period when LOUIE was on the above trip to the "motherland," LOUIE instructed him not to mail anything to the box.

LOUIE wanted BULLOCK to get a Post Office Box in San Francisco. If LOUIE wanted to send something to BULLOCK, he did not want to have to send it to BULLOCK's residence. BULLOCK said he refused this request of LOUIE. LOUIE, who had a "beeper," also wanted BULLOCK to get one, saying he (LOUIE) would pay for it. LOUIE thought it important that there be some other way for him to telephone BULLOCK besides at BULLOCK's residence, in case BULLOCK developed some "hot" information. BULLOCK said he also

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refused this request of LOUIE. BULLOCK knew from experience that the payments from LOUIE were not as plentiful as BULLOCK expected. Aside from not thinking a beeper was actually needed, BULLOCK also did not believe LOUIE would cover the entire cost of BULLOCK having one.

BULLOCK would occasionally receive telephone calls at his residence from LOUIE. BULLOCK almost always thought, from the background noises at LOUIE's end, that LOUIE was using a public telephone. LOUIE wanted BULLOCK to use public telephones as well. He wanted BULLOCK to supply him with some numbers of public telephones in San Francisco, where BULLOCK could receive calls at specified times. LOUIE said BULLOCK's insistence of using his home telephone was "not a safe conduit." LOUIE feared the "possibility of a leak." BULLOCK, who believed he would only provide "public source" information to LOUIE by telephone, told LOUIE he would just have to call BULLOCK at BULLOCK's home.

BULLOCK knew, from talking to GERARD, that GERARD maintained a Post Office Box. BULLOCK believes the box was at a private mail box company located by the Anchorage 5 Cafe, near GERARD's residence in Sausalito, California. GERARD offered to let BULLOCK use the box to communicate with the South Africans, but BULLOCK declined the offer. BULLOCK said that although he understood GERARD used the box to communicate with the South Africans, he does not know if GERARD sent anything to them independent of what he and GERARD prepared. BULLOCK did recall that once, at a meeting at a Travelodge notel between BULLOCK, GERARD and LOUIE, GERARD gave LOUIE a chart GERARD had prepared listing all the San Francisco area anti-apartheid groups and their interconnections. The chart consisted of about eight' pieces of paper which were taped together at the edges. It appeared to BULLOCK to have been prepared using GERARD's 1 computer. LOUIE was very happy to get it, commenting, "This is marvelous! This is wonderful! This is everything -- I can see the entire thing." BULLOCK did not think the chart was that impressive, and he later commented to GERARD that he was surprised LOUIE liked it. GERARD responded, "Oh, CAL, you don't know intelligence agents. That's what they love."

Most of the material BULLOCK and GERARD gave to the South Africans came from work they did in the San Francisco area. BULLOCK cited two instances, however, where he traveled outside the San Francisco area to obtain information. On one occasion,

BULLOCK had to travel to Portland, Oregon on business for his employer, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL). BULLOCK was to gather information from a trial there which involved white supremacist TOM METZGER. While in Portland, BULLOCK gathered some information on and talked to a couple of people affiliated with the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). BULLOCK later wrote a report on the AFSC and its antiapartheid activities, which he sent to LOUIE. On another occasion, LOUIE asked BULLOCK to attend and report on a meeting of an anti-apartheid group in Hollywood, California. BULLOCK traveled to Hollywood as requested, obtained some literature at the meeting, and reported the results to LOUIE. For this, BULLOCK was reimbursed \$500.00 for travel expenses by LOUIE at their last meeting. BULLOCK also gathered information during a vacation he took in Washington, D.C., which was later incorporated into a report for the South Africans. BULLOCK noted he was not paid by the South Africans for travel expenses except. for the above Hollywood trip. BULLOCK did not ask for travel expense money from the South Africans for the other trips because he was either traveling on his own initiative or because the ADL was paying for it.

BULLOCK was able to recall some assorted details regarding the various meetings he or he and GERARD had with HUMPHRIES or LOUIE. The first meeting BULLOCK had with either of the South Africans was with HUMPHRIES. This meeting had been arranged for BULLOCK by GERARD. The meeting took place in a hotel room in San Francisco. HUMPHRIES had apparently rented the room but BULLOCK cannot recall the name of the hotel or anything about the personal effects HUMPHRIES may have had in the room with him. BULLOCK recalled that he could not see whatever luggage HUMPHRIES may have had with him, and that the room was otherwise in a pristine condition. GERARD had transported BULLOCK from BULLOCK's residence to the hotel in GERARD's car, then taken BULLOCK to HUMPHRIES' room. There HUMPHRIES introduced himself to BULLOCK, and GERARD told BULLOCK that HUMPHRIES was with South African Intelligence. HUMPHRIES told BULLOCK he was interested in acquiring information on antiapartheid activities in the United States and on efforts regarding divesture by American organizations of South African business ties. He said he would be grateful for whatever information BULLOCK could provide, and that BULLOCK would be paid for his efforts. They discussed the types of information HUMPHRIES wanted and what BULLOCK might be able to provide. For

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this discussion, HUMPHRIES produced a small tape recorder. He asked BULLOCK and GERARD if they minded if he taped the discussion, saying he could not take notes fast enough. Neither BULLOCK or GERARD objected to the taping, so the discussion was recorded. The total time of the recording was probably about seven minutes. Both BULLOCK's and GERARD's voices are probably on the tape. BULLOCK cannot recall if the discussion of payment for information was included in the recording. HUMPHRIES mentioned the possibility of also sending BULLOCK to London or Paris to gather information. BULLOCK did not recall that HUMPHRIES said he was from the New York South African Consulate. BULLOCK later knew this, but he cannot recall if he was told by GERARD or LOUIE. The above was the only instance in which BULLOCK knew he was being recorded during discussions with the South Africans.

BULLOCK recalled that, although LOUIE generally stayed at a Travelodge notel in the Fisherman's Wharf area of San Francisco, there was one time that LOUIE stayed at the San Francisco Hyatt Regency Hotel, located near the Embarcadero Center. BULLOCK believes this may have been on the occasion of his and GERARD's third meeting with LOUIE. They met LOUIE in the lobby of this hotel, and then they went to a restaurant in the nearby Pacific Gas and Electric Company building. LOUIE had with him a brown leather briefcase with the initials "JB" embossed on it in gold. BULLOCK recalled that this was the only time he saw LOUIE with a briefcase. LOUIE explained that he was staying at the Hyatt Hotel, and they were not meeting in LOUIE's room, because LOUIE had his wife with him. LOUIE said he and his wife (and possibly their children: BULLOCK is not certain of this. BULLOCK did recall that during one of LOUIE's visits to San Francisco BULLOCK observed LOUIE had purchased some "Mickey Mouse" ears, and that LOUIE had indicated they were for one of his children.) were on vacation and were driving across the United States. He mentioned either that they had visited or were loing to visit the Grand Canyon. . LOUIE did not give BULLOCK any money during this meeting, but he said South Africa was very happy with BULLOCK's and GERARD's work. He gave what BULLOCK described as a "pep talk" and requested that they continue working for South Africa.

BULLOCK recalled he learned at some point that LOUIE liked to eat crab. BULLOCK would often try to encourage LOUIE to go out to eat with him and GERARD, but LOUIE always refused, not

wanting to leave the security of the hotel room. BULLOCK eventually decided there were certain things like this that LOUIE, as an intelligence officer, simply felt he had to do in the name of security.

Although BULLOCK was sending LOUIE two or three reports per nonth, LOUIE always seemed to think that BULLOCK and GERARD should be producing more. He told BULLOCK that there would be more money in exchange for more production. Once, at a fairly early meeting (probably around November, 1989) when LOUIE complained about what he perceived to be a lack of production, he said he wanted BULLOCK to start numbering the submitted reports so LOUIE could see how many there were and if any were missing. BULLOCK complied with this instruction for about one month, then discontinued the numbering, and LOUIE never brought the numbering system up again.

Sometime after their fourth meeting with the South Africans, GERARD noted to BULLOCK that BULLOCK was doing most of the work in producing the reports they were submitting. GERARD suggested that perhaps they should modify their agreement on splitting payments received so that instead of being divided equally, BULLOCK would get two-thirds. BULLOCK declined the offer, telling GERARD, "I may be gay but I'm a straight arrow." Thereafter they continued to equally divide the money received from the South Africans.

BULLOCK recalled that at one meeting between him, GERARD and LOUIE, which occurred in 1990, LOUIE had with him two pages of handwritten notes. The notes were written with a pencil and were in Afrikaans. BULLOCK has some German speaking ability, and he thought that might allow him to be able to read some of the Afrikaans. He asked LOUTE if he could try to read the notes. and LOUIE agreed. BULLOCK found he could not understand very much of what was written. BULLOCK could decipher some of what was in the notes, especially a list of things LOUIE then confirmed were among things he hoped BULLOCK and GERARD could look into. These things were a Cable News Network conference in Atlanta, Georgia regarding South African Bishop DESMOND TUTU; a student meeting in Iowa regarding South Africa; a black businessmen's conference in Los Angeles, California regarding business opportunities in South Africa, and a student writer for the publication "Africa South" who had written an article concerning an anti-apartheid meeting. BULLOCK said he and GERARD 1/26/93 .7age 8

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below.

were unable to obtain any information about any of the above topics.

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At one of the earlier meetings with LOUIE, he asked BULLOCK and GERARD for information about a student anti-apartheid meeting held at the University of California at Berkeley (UCB). The group about which LOUIE inquired had an office at the Student Union at UCB. When BULLOCK went there, the office was open but no one was there. BULLOCK entered anyway. He looked around, but saw nothing worthwhile to note or take (BULLOCK described it as a "peanut" operation.) BULLOCK later reported this visit, and the generally poor condition of the office, to LOUIE. LOUIE wanted BULLOCK to draw a diagram of the office. BULLOCK talked this request over with GERARD. They agreed it night not be a good idea to provide the diagram to LOUIE, in case LOUIE had thoughts of using it to aid in a burglary of the office. BULLOCK therefore did not provide the diagram, and LOUIE never asked for it again.

At, BULLOCK believes, the next to last meeting he and GERARD had with LOUIE, LOUIE asked BULLOCK if BULLOCK knew of any personnel from any foreign consulates in the United States who night be willing to do business with South Africa. The only diplomat BULLOCK knew, besides LOUIE and HUMPHRIES, was a woman named was the Honorary Consul for Turkey in San Francisco. In had been introduced to BULLOCK by GERARD. asked BULLOCK to try to find out information about the activities of Armenian immigrants in the United States. Was concerned that she might be an assassination target of the Armenians, following the assassination in Los Angeles of a Turkish diplomat.

BULLOCK did not try to get to work for the South Africans. As a result of BULLOCK's Armenian investigation, however, he became acquainted with persons named JEFF BLANKFORT and STEVE ZELTZER. BLANKFORT and ZELTZER were affiliated with the "Free MOSES MAYEKISO Campaign" (MAYEKISO being an imprisoned South African trade unionist), as well as with anti-Turkish organizations. BULLOCK befriended and won the confidence of BLANKFORT and ZELTZER (in BULLOCK's words, they thought he was "one of them"). He later used that connection to obtain information for a report he prepared for the South Africans which described the activities of BLANKFORT and ZELTZER.

BULLOCK observed that when the work of collecting information for South Africa required someone to physically go somewhere to, for example, attend a meeting, it would almost always be BULLOCK who went. BULLOCK could recall only one occasion where GERARD went. This was in connection with an anti-apartheid meeting in San Jose, California. BULLOCK had some reason why he could not go, so GERARD said he would cover the meeting. GERARD vent, and wrote a report about it, which he gave to BULLOCK for submission to the South Africans. The report contained mistakes in English usage and was otherwise not as polished as what BULLOCK had been sending. BULLOCK therefore rewrote the report to correct these deficiencies, and then nailed the corrected version to the South Africans. See "DEAN.DBX"

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BULLOCK was shown copies of a number of reports, on various topics, which had been obtained by the SFPD through their seizure of BULLOCK's personal computer at BULLOCK's residence on December 10, 1992. BULLOCK was asked to comment concerning whether they had been written by him and whether they had been provided by him to the South Africans. The reports (copies of which are attached) are listed below utilizing the names under which they had been stored in BULLOCK's computer.

REPORT NAME	WRITTEN BY BULLOCK?	PROVIDED TO SOUTH AFRICANS?	OTHER COMMENTS
ANAGNOS	YES	YES	Information for this report supplied by GERARD.
ANC	YES	YES	Persons described in this report were specifically asked about by South Afri- cans.
ANCFUND	YES	YES	

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REPORT NAME	WRITTEN BY BULLOCK?	PROVIDED TO SOUTH AFRICANS?	OTHER COMMENTS	REPORT NAME	HRITTEN BY	PROVIDED TO SOUTH AFRICANS?	OTHER COMMENTS
NCJEH	YES	YES	It is BULLOCK's	GLOBAL2.DBX	YES	YES.	
			opinion that the San Francisco area anti- apartheid movement	GLOBALO.DBX	YES	мо	This report Written for the ADL.
			began to fall apart following the visit	HANI. DBX	YES	YES	
		-	of NELSON MANDELA to San Francisco.	IRRC-SA.DBX	YES	YEŠ	λ copy of this re- port also filed by
APARTSUR	YES	YES				•	BULLOCK with ADL. BULLOCK gathered
BERK	YES	ÝES					information for this report while he was
BOSAK	ĀĒS	YES	•				on vacation in Washington, D.C.
BOXCOLL	YES	YES		JEFF.DBX	YES	. NO	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
CONST. DBX	YES,	YES	,	" "		•	
CULTURE.DB	X YES	YES		KRAFT.DBX	YES	YES	A copy of this re- port was not given
DANAHER. DE	X YES	YES	BULLOCK met KEVIN DANAHER when BULLOCK performed volunteer work for a "Trot- skeyite" organiza- tion in San Francisco called MOBE, which	•			to ADL by BULLOCK. Information in this report was supplied unilaterally by GERARD. GERARD did not ask BULLOCK to gather any informa- tion on SCOTT KRAFT.
			each April sponsors a March for Peace, Jobs and Justice. BULLOCK worked there	MUSIK.DĖX	YES	ио	Report prepared for ADL use only.
•			around February, 1990 and February, 1991.	NED. DBX	,XE2	YES	
DANAHER2.D	BX YES	YES	and tonemarly area.	XEG. AWOLUM	YES	YES	\$
*			Direction	PÄUL. DBX	YES	йо	Report prepared for
DEAN. DBX	YES	YES	Function personally attended by GERARD. See above.		•	•	ADL use only.

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Č		ROY EDWARD BUI		, 0s 1/26/93 .7eps 12				
1	REPORT NAME	WRITTEN BY BULLOCK?	PROVIDED TO SOUTH AFRICANS?	OTHER COMMENTS	REPORT NAME	WRITTEN BY BULLOCK?	PROVIDED TO SOUTH AFRICANS?	OTHER COMMENTS
	RAINBOW. DB)	X YES	МО	Report prepared for ADL use only.	SA9.DBX	YES	YES	•
	)	V-a		GERARD may have pro- vided vehicle regis- tration and driver's license information.	SAPORT.DBX	YES	YES	This report was gen- erated from BUL- LOCK's above- described trip to Portland, Oregon.
	,SAll.DBX	YES	YES	GERARD provided Cal- ifornia Department of Motor Vehicles and criminal history information used in	SAPRESS. DB		YES ,	Report on visit of NELSON MANDELA to the United States.
		-		this report. GERARD also provided the U.S. Immigration	SCAR.DBX	YES	ио	Report prepared for ADL use only.
				number listed for ENOCH WILLIAM DUMA. When BULLOCK asked GERARD how GERARD obtained this num- ber, GERARD winked and said he. "has his	SCOÚT2.DBX	YES	Ю	Report prepared for ADL use only. BULLOCK did request of LOUIE any available information on the South African
	- '	•	ę	sources." Also, after this report GERARD always asked LOUIE if he had any more names to submit for "tasking." BUL-LOCK does not recall that there were.	•			head of the Populist Party in the United States. BULLOCK was told he had not pro- vided the correct spelling of name, and that no re- cord of her could be
	SA8.DBX	¥E2⊹	YES	Information about the Vanguard Founda- tion (VF) came from VF publications. IRWIN SUALL of the ADL was also inter- ested in VF. VF's YVONNE GOLDEN is an old Communist Party "hack."				located in South Africa. BULLOCK noted the South Africans were not con- cerned with

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ROY EDWARD BULLOCK Contransition of FD-102 of os 1/26/93 , Page 14 REPORT WRITTEN BY PROVIDED TO OTHER NAME BULLOCK? SOUTH\_AFRICANS? COMMENTS SFARAB.DBX YES YES This report, given to LOUIE, contains information about Congresswoman NANCY PELOSI. LOUIE did not, however, ask questions about the United States Congress. SFPRESS.DBX YES YES SHELL. DBX YES YES SOV2.DBX YES NO BULLOCK is interested in Radio Moscow propaganda techniques and has listed to Radio Moscow for years. BULLOCK asserted there was "no subversive intent" to his listening to and Writing reports about Radio Moscow broad-CASES. RANSAF. DBX YES YES Information on telephone numbers and calls contained in this report were obtained by BULLOCK through his taking of Transafrica's trash. WASHSA. DBX YES YES BULLOCK obtained information for this report while BULLOCK Was on Vacation in

Washington, D.C.

.BULLOCK further identified a report titled AFRCEN as one he started to write on the Africa Resource Center, but which he never finished.

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BULLOCK said there were also some reports prepared by him with a typewriter for the South Africans. He said he does not have copies of those reports.

BULLOCK also gave to LOUIE an ADL publication on the African National Congress.

BULLOCK was shown a copy of a twenty-four page document called "ANC FILES LIST," which had been retrieved by the SFPD from a computer seized by them from GERARD. BULLOCK said this was not a document he had written, though he recognized some of the names in it. BULLOCK also said, though, that he had provided GERARD with copies of almost everything in his (BULLOCK's) computer. BULLOCK specifically identified three major listings of individuals he had in his computer, under the headings RIGHT, PINKO and ARAB. BULLOCK gave GERARD copies of all three lists, based on a request from GERARD. BULLOCK loaded the information onto computer disks and gave the disks to GERARD. BULLOCK added that GERARD is "not that good with computers."

BULLOCK said most of the information contained in his (BULLOCK's) computer was stored using software programs called Multimate and Paradox. BULLOCK said copies of everything stored using Multimate had been also given to the San Francisco ADL office. The same is true for most of the information stored using Paradox.

BULLOCK said he has shown his collection of computerized information to FBI Special Agent FRANK DOYLE. Special Agent DOYLE was very impressed and told BULLOCK that if BULLOCK retires he should "will" the information to Special Agent DOYLE. Special Agent DOYLE also once offered to have the FBI supply BULLOCK with a facsimile machine, so BULLOCK could send copies of his reports. BULLOCK added, though, that he never actually received a facsimile machine from Special Agent DOYLE.

BULLOCK. said it was his impression, though GERARD never explicitly told him so, (and BULLOCK never asked) that GERARD may have been telling the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) about his

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and BULLOCK's contacts with the South Africans. GERARD had said he knew the CIA "resident agent" in San Francisco. GERARD told BULLOCK he would introduce BULLOCK to this person, but that introduction never occurred. Once, after GERARD dropped BULLOCK off at BULLOCK's residence following a meeting with LOUIE, GERARD said he was going to go to the San Francisco CIA office. BULLOCK

thinks this is one of the reasons GERARD always asked LOUIE if

LOUIE had any more names of people he wanted them to check out.

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BULLOCK said he, himself, had no relationship with the CIA. Only once, in the late 1960s or early 1970s, was BULLOCK in an office which he understood to belong to the CIA. That was at the invitation of a person named CHARLES ROUBITELLE, whom BULLOCK understood to be a CIA employee. BULLOCK had met ROUBITELLE in the 1960s while BULLOCK was living in Southern California. ROUBITELLE seemed interested in the activities of right wing extremists. ROUBITELLE invited BULLOCK to visit him at a CIA office in Los Angeles, which BULLOCK recalled was in the "Fisher Building." When BULLOCK arrived at the office for his appointment, he found the office door unlocked but no one present. BULLOCK went in. Being alone and seeing a file cabinet nearby, BULLOCK opened one of the drawers. In the drawer ha observed a file on a well known left wing leader. Eventually someone appeared in the office, and BULLOCK was introduced to a man he understood was the head of the office. He and BULLOCK chatted for a few minutes, about topics BULLOCK can no longer recall. The man told BULLOCK they had tried to call him several times. BULLOCK replied that that would have been impossible as BULLOCK did not have a telephone. After BULLOCK and the man finished chatting, BULLOCK left the office. BULLOCK, has had no further contact with the CIA except as might have occurred

through GERARD.

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The South Africans were quite aware that GERARD had once been employed by the CIA. During neetings between GERARD and BULLOCK and HUMPHRIES or LOUIE, GERARD would frequently discuss what he had done while in the CIA's employ. BULLOCK recalled GERARD mentioning that he had been in Algeria on CIA business, and that GERARD discussed the PIO and "safehouses." To this LOUIE once responded that Israeli intelligence had determined that the PIO and the African National Congress were cooperating. GERARD also spoke of having traveled with the CIA to Afghanistan, and he described what he had seen there. LOUIE also contributed stories concerning his adventures inside South Africa as an intelligence officer (BULLOCK did not recall LOUIE talking about any of his intelligence activities outside South Africa.) Both GERARD and LOUIE traded "war stories" and regaled each other and BULLOCK with tales of "narrow scrapes."

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Even though the South Africans knew of GERARD's former CIA affiliation, BULLOCK never heard HUMPHRIES or LOUIE ask GERARD to provide any information about the CIA. BULLOCK never told the South Africans he was acquainted with any FBI employees, nor does he recall GERARD saying he (GERARD) knew any. The South Africans never asked BULLOCK or GERARD (to BULLOCK's knowledge) to provide any information about the FBI. BULLOCK said that although he had previously acknowledged once having a report on the Nation of Islam, which he believes was written by the FBI, he never gave it or any other FBI documents to the South Africans. LOUIE was very security conscious, but he never spoke openly about concerns that the FBI might discover what he was doing with BULLOCK and GERARD. LOUIE did once mention that he had seen a media story about how the FBI was looking for speakers of various languages, including Afrikaans. LOUIE said he assumed this meant the FBI would be spending less time investigating traditional targets like the Soviet Union, and more regarding targets like South Africa.

BULLOCK said that despite GERARD's claimed contacts with the CIA, GERARD was nevertheless concerned about the possibility of the FBI finding out what he and BULLOCK were doing with the South Africans. BULLOCK knew GERARD could be fired from his job with SFPD if it was discovered that he and BULLOCK were selling information to the South Africans. GERARD's concern about discovery extended to the point that he once took steps to

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try to determine if the FBI knew about his and BULLOCK's activities; and to gauge the general FBI level of interest in South Africa. For his part, BULLOCK's concern about protecting GERARD in their dealings with South Africa caused BULLOCK to intentionally provide false information to the FBI.

approached by FBI Special Agent (SA) KATHERINE I. TANG-WILCOX, and another Agent, who could speak Spanish, but whose name BULLOCK cannot now recall. They discussed such things as "skinheads" and a Puerto Rican Independence group. Then TANG-WILCOX asked BULLOCK if BULLOCK knew anything about "South African agents in the Silicon Valley." BULLOCK admitted he knew one South African, from New York, and that he had given this person some information on anti-apartheid groups. BULLOCK indicated willingness to try to identify this person from a photograph if TANG-WILCOX obtained one. TANG-WILCOX asked BULLOCK to contact her if this South African contacted BULLOCK again. BULLOCK said he would. TANG-WILCOX gave BULLOCK the telephone number to her beeper so BULLOCK could contact her.

BULLOCK claimed that when LOUIE next called him, a month or two later, to arrange a meeting for later the same day, BULLOCK tried to contact TANG-WILCOX, using the beeper number she had provided. When she had not called him back after fifteen minutes, BULLOCK left for the meeting with LOUIE. Because he waited for TANG-WILCOX to call him, BULLOCK said, he was late for the meeting, and LOUIE berated him for his tardiness (BULLOCK countered that he had taken a circuitous route to the meeting.) BULLOCK indicated this was about a month before the last meeting with LOUIE. BULLOCK noted that TANG-WILCOX never produced a photograph for him to try to identify, nor did the matter of South Africa come up again with her.

BULLOCK, however, reported TANG-WILCOX's interest in South Africa to GERARD. GERARD was concerned. GERARD later reported to BULLOCK that he (GERARD) had gone to the San Francisco FBI Office and made contact with a person who handled the "South Africa desk." From this contact GERARD reported to BULLOCK that GERARD did not think the FBI was aware of his and BULLOCK's relationship with the South Africans, or that the FBI was very interested in South Africa.

The last meeting BULLOCK had with LOUIE occurred after

the above contact with SA TANG-WILCOX. As usual, LOUIE telephoned BULLOCK to request a meeting, after LOUIZ was already in San Francisco. This time, however, LOUIE told BULLOCK, in an "acid" tone, not to bring GERARD to the meeting. BULLDCK therefore met LOUIE alone at LOUIE's room at the Travelodge motel at Fisherman's Wharf. LOUIE spoke in a terse manner and did not have the friendly demeanor he had always previously displayed. He spoke to BULLOCK for only a couple of minutes in the motel room. He and BULLOCK then walked to the nearby Ripley's Believe It Or Not museum. On the way there and at the museum LOUIE told BULLOCK that the information he and GERARD had been providing was not worthwhile. He thanked BULLOCK for their efforts and asked if he could call BULLOCK if anything more was needed. BULLOCK said he could. In the museum, at the second exhibit (which BULLOCK recalled was lit with red lights), LOUIE gave BULLOCK an envelope containing \$1,500.00 in cash. LOUIE did not ask BULLOCK to sign a receipt. \$500.00 of the \$1,500.00 was to reimburse BULLOCK for his travel expenses in connection with his abovementioned trip to Hollywood. BULLOCK offerred to give LOUIE a detailed list of expenses for the trip, but LOUIE did not want that. It was clear to BULLOCK that this was to be the last meeting with LOUIE. They shook hands, and parted company after just a few minutes. That was the last BULLOCK has seen of LOUIE.

BULLOCK contacted GERARD and informed him of this neeting with LOUIE. GERARD's response was, "That's the way it goes." BULLOCK gave GERARD \$500.00 of the money LOUIE had given him, keeping all of the \$500.00 that was intended as his travel expense reimbursement, plus half of the remaining \$1,000.00.

BULLOCK expressed surprise, both to GERARD and to interviewing Agents, concerning the termination of the relationship with the South Africans, and the abrupt way it was handled by LOUIE. BULLOCK denied telling LOUIE about the above questioning by SA TANG-WILCOX, or otherwise saying anything which might have made the South Africans think the FBI was investigating the relationship they had with BULLOCK and GERARD.

BULLOCK was shown a copy of the text of what appeared to be a letter describing the above encounter with SA TANG-WILCOX. The letter had been discovered in BULLOCK's computer by the SFPD, under the file name TRIP.DBX. It appeared to have been prepared for transmission to the South Africans. The text of the letter, a copy of which is attached, read:

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"During an extended conversation with two FBI agents in late March on a number of topics, one asked pointblank, "Why do you think South Africa [sic] agents are coming to the West Coast?" At first I brushed aside the question but after a few minutes, the agent again brought it up. Because of the old contact our nutual friend had with the consulate in southern California and because I am a known friend of his, the bureau apparently decided I might know something about South African intelligence operations.

"Nothing specific was indicated and we can be sure that you are not the target of their interest nor do they know of your trips here. As one explained, "We missed the boat in developing information on Iraqi agents operating on the west coast prior to the gulf crisis and we don't want to do that again." I suggested that there was not the slightest indication that South Africa and the United States would ever be in a state of hostilities as had occured (sic) with Iraq. In short, their explaination (sic) did not hold water. One then replied that they were interested to see if SA agents'might be "after military secrets" in California. They admitted that there was nothing to indicate such interest. But they had to make sure. In particular, they thought SA might be interested in ferreting out secret information from the Silicon valley (re: computers, etc.)

"Did I know any agents, they finally asked? Since the issue had been brought up, I replied that a meeting had been arranged, in confidence, by the ADL which wanted information on radical right activities in SA and their American connections. To that end I had met an agent at Rockafeller Center cafeteria. Could I identify the agent if they showed me photos? I replied that I would try. The photos would have to be sent from New York and would take time. To date, they have not contacted me to view the photos.

"In summation, there is no indication, that the bureau knows about our connection nor about your trips to this area. They asked a number of questions which revealed their lack of knowledge about any concrete or specific details. This was, in short, a fishing expedition and they seemed satisfied with my answers."

BULLOCK commented that the TRIP.DBX letter was a very "damning" piece of evidence. He said he had forgotten it was in his computer. He admitted that it concerned the above-described meeting he had with SA TANG-WILCOX and the "Spanish speaking" SA, and that he had, in fact, written it, right after the meeting with SA TANG-WILCOX. BULLOCK then stated, however, that he had never actually transmitted it to the South Africans. BULLOCK discussed the letter with GERARD, and thought about sending it to LOUIE, but never did. BULLOCK did give a copy of the letter to GERARD, though he does not know what GERARD did with it. GERARD never told BULLOCK that he (GERARD) had given the letter to the South Africans, nor did BULLOCK think GERARD had done so, but BULLOCK cannot be sure. BULLOCK remained at a loss to explain the above-described behavior of LOUIE at their last meeting assuming that BULLOCK had not actually transmitted the TRIP.DBX letter to the South Africans.

BULLOCK admitted he had lied to SA TANG-WILCOX about his relationship with the South Africans. BULLOCK said his motive in doing so was to try to protect GERARD's activities from discovery by the FBI. BULLOCK said his statements to the FBI that the ADL had set up his relationship with the South Africans, were untrue.

BULLOCK was questioned concerning what he had done with the money paid to him by the South Africans. He said he normally put his share (that part not given to GERARD) in his bank account within a short time of receiving it. BULLOCK estimated he gave about one-third of his share of the money from LOUIE to the Project Open House AIDS charity fund. The remainder of the money BULLOCK believes he spent on purchases of art. BULLOCK noted that in his art business it is normal for him to keep a supply of cash at home. He does this because art sellers often prefer to

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be paid in cash. Some of the cash he has used for art purchases may have come from money supplied by LOUIE.

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BULLOCK said an analysis of his checking account would reveal deposits of cash from art sales, the South Africans, his ADL salary, money paid to him by the ADL for expenses, money paid to him by others for occasional art appraisal services, and money morrowed by him from his business partner PAUL DANIEL.

BULLOCK said he does not know what GERARD did with his share of the money from the South Africans. BULLOCK knows GERARD has sent some money to the Philippines to pay for a house GERARD is building there, but he added he does not know how GERARD sends money to the Philippines, or if the money he has sent there was from the South Africans. BULLOCK does not know what the term "foxy pocket" refers to with regard to GERARD.

BULLOCK said he remains opposed to the apartheid system in South Africa. He said he provided information on anti-apartheid activities to South African intelligence because he wanted to help South Africa make a better assessment of the anti-apartheid situation in the United States. BULLOCK said he hoped that by doing this he would encourage the Government of South Africa to bring apartheid to an end.

In addition to the above, BULLOCK provided some other background information concerning himself and GERARD. BULLOCK said that when he got out of high school in 1953 he had gone to work for the Identification Bureau of the police department in Indianapolis, Indiana. His supervisor was BUFORD A. MARSEY. BULLOCK's main function was to pull and put away police files, but he also learned how to take and identify fingerprints.

BULLOCK worked at the above job for about six months.

e then joined the United States Army, however, was shortly
hereafter released on a medical discharge.

BULLOCK is acquainted with GERARD's wife, JULIE. JULIE is GERARD's second wife. GERARD has a son, who is currently serving in the United States Marine Corps.

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what follows is an EBI report on an interview conducted by the FBI with former Los Angeles Anti-Defamation League of fice ffact finder." David Gurvitz. The interview was conducted in the course of the ongoing investigation of the ADE's spy network. Gurvitz, who has been offered immunity from prosecution for criminal activities he may have committed in the course of his employments with the ADE is probably the first in house ADE whistleblower ever to reveal ADE secrets to the public. Note that Gurvitz makes reference to his habittof regularly reading The SPOTEIGHE as part of his ADE duties. The pages shown here (reduced in size for space considerations) are exact photore productions of the documents released by the SamFrancisco District Attorney's office which is in charge of the inquiry into the ADE's activities.

Date of transferior

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On March 3, 1993 DAVID M. GURVITZ was interviewed at the Los Angeles, California Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 11000 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. Present during the interview was ALEXANDER RIBAKOFF, an attorney who is representing GURVITZ. GURVITZ was advised of the names and official identities of the interviewing Agents, and of the nature of the interview. GURVITZ was advised that this interview was entirely voluntary on his part. He was also advised, in writing, that he is not a target of investigation by the FBI (copy of letter attached). GURVITZ thereafter provided the following information.

GURVITZ noted he had been previously interviewed by the FBI on October 30, 1992, and that he had then indicated he knew that one ROY EDWARD BULLOCK, also known as CAL, had been engaged in a clandestine relationship with a person representing the Republic of South Africa. GURVITZ had told the FBI that BULLOCK had been supplying to that person information concerning persons and groups in the United States who were engaged in activities in opposition to South Africa's system of "apartheid." At that time, GURVITZ had indicated to the FBI that he had no knowledge of BULLOCK receiving any money for this information. GURVITZ said he had made an inaccurate statement concerning that issue, which he now wished to correct.

GURVITZ then stated that in approximately September, 1992, BULLOCK, who lives in San Francisco, had traveled to Los Angeles, California. The trip had been made shortly after Labor Day. BULLOCK, who is employed as an investigator with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), came to Los Angeles to debrief a an ADL undercover source, codenamed SCOUT. SCOUT had just attended a "skinhead" gathering (characterized by GURVITZ as an "Aryan Woodstock") in the California desert near Victorville BULLOCK wanted to know what information SCOUT had obtained there. (This was one of a number of trips GURVITZ knew BULLOCK made periodically to Los Angeles. BULLOCK made such trips to meet with SCOUT, and/or BULLOCK's police contacts. He would also sometimes see GURVITZ., BULLOCK usually flew into Long Beach Airport, then rented a car and stayed with friends in Seal Beach

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SA JOEL A. MOSS by SA SCOTT W. HARPE	er.	. Date decrated		. •

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EXPIBIT H

FBI INTERVIEW OF DAVID GURVITZ

March 8, 1993

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or Pasadena.)

In connection with the above September, 1992 trip, BULLOCK stopped by the Los Angeles ADL office. There, in the morning (GURVITZ believes it may have been a Friday), BULLOCK met with GURVITZ, who was himself then employed as an ADL investigator. GURVITZ and BULLOCK agreed to go out to lunch. They then went, in a car BULLOCK had rented, to a kosher pizza restaurant called Pizza World, located on Fairfax Avenue in Los Angeles. No one else accompanied them.

During lunch, GURVITZ asked BULLOCK about BULLOCK's relationship with South Africa. GURVITZ had known BULLOCK since GURVITZ started working for the ADL in March, 1989. They had had many telephone conversations, and in about three of them BULLOCK had alluded to his dealings with South, Africa (GURVITZ could not recall exactly when he first heard this.) BULLOCK was also, however, very secretive, and he had never been willing to elaborate for GURVITZ on the telephone. This behavior had served only to pique GURVITZ' interest, so he used the occasion of lunch with BULLOCK to ask BULLOCK a question about it. GURVITZ recalled his question to BULLOCK was something like, "What's the whole deal with South Africa?"

BULLOCK then described for GURVITZ a relationship BULLOCK, and a San Francisco police officer named TOM GERARD, had had with the South African Government. BULLOCK told GURVIT2 that at some time in the past, BULLOCK had learned that a South African Consul General (GURVITZ is not sure from which South African consulate) was going to give a speech in Las Vegas, Nevada, at an event sponsored by an organization called the Liberty Lobby. BULLOCK considered the Liberty Lobby, headed by one WILLIS CARTO, to be a right-wing extremist organization. BULLOCK suspected the Consul General did not know this, and that if he did, he would not want to appear at the event. BULLOCK told GERARD of the situation. GERARD wrote a letter to the South African Consulate in Los Angeles advising them of the true nature of the Liberty Lobby. The Consul General did not make the speech, and shortly thereafter GERARD received a letter of reply from the South Africans, apparently thanking him for the warning. This letter of reply was received by GERARD at a Post Office Box GERARD maintained, which GURVITZ understood to be possibly in the "East Bay" area of the San Francisco Bay Area. This, GURVITZ understood from BULLOCK, marked the beginning of a clahdestine

relationship with the South African Government.

BULLOCK then told GURVITZ that he (BULLOCK) was being paid by the South Africans for information relating to antiapartheid organizations in the San Francisco area. BULLOCK said the information was of a type which BULLOCK was already gathering on behalf of the ADL, so BULLOCK did not have to go much out of his way to get information of value to the South Africans. BULLOCK said his South African contact was a man named LOUIS. LOUIS paid BULLOCK for the information, in, as BULLOCK described it, "crisp, new \$100 bills." BULLOCK told GURVITZ he was receiving monthly payments. GURVITZ recalled BULLOCK mentioning a figure of \$7,000, but GURVITZ could not recall if that was a monthly figure or represented a single payment BULLOCK had once received from LOUIS.

It was GURVITZ' understanding that LOUIS was from South Africa, but GURVITZ was not told by BULLOCK whether LOUIS was a diplomat or whether he represented a particular South African diplomatic establishment. GURVITZ was not sure from talking to BULLOCK whether GERARD was also receiving money from LOUIS.

BULLOCK told GURVITZ the information being furnished to LOUIS did not seem very important to BULLOCK. BULLOCK also told GURVITZ, though, that BULLOCK had at one point learned the FBI suspected that LOUIS was engaged in gathering computer-related intelligence in the "Silicon Valley." BULLOCK said he had mentioned the FBI's interest to LOUIS, and it had scared LOUIS off and eventually caused the end of BULLOCK's relationship with South Africa. BULLOCK told GURVITZ he had had no contact with LOUIS in a long time.

GURVITZ confirmed that the ADL did routinely collect information on persons engaged in anti-apartheid activities in the United States, so BULLOCK's statement to him about not having to do much extra work for the South Africans seemed reasonable at the time. GURVITZ said he used to regularly read the People's Weekly World newspaper, published by the Communist Party of the United States. GURVITZ recalled it would occasionally contain material concerning anti-apartheid activities in the San' Francisco area, and that he would send copies of those articles to BULLOCK. GURVITZ also recalls BULLOCK once saying he (BULLOCK) was going to have to do more investigation concerning anti-apartheid organizations, following media reports of a

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government "crackdown" in South Africa.

BULLOCK's statements to GURVITZ made sense also because GURVITZ had himself collected information for the ADL about antiapartheid activities. In about August, 1992, for example, an ti-apartheid demonstration was held at the South African sulate in Los Angeles. Participating in the demonstration for the Los Angeles Student Coalition and the Socialist Workers Party. GURVITZ went to two demonstration planning sessions, and a subsequent demonstration. He wrote a report for the ADL on each of the planning sessions and on the demonstration. Copies of the reports were disseminated to BULLOCK, among others, in care of the San Francisco ADL office.

In explaining the ADL's interest in anti-apartheid activities, GURVITZ said the ADL is sensitive to the public's perceptions regarding the degree of contact and cooperation between Israel and South-Africa. GURVITZ recalled that when he started working for the ADL, there was already a great deal of information in ADL files concerning the Israel - South Africa connection and anti-apartheid groups. GURVITZ said there are files in the Los Angeles ADL office dating to approximately the 1930s. Most of this material is on microfilm; only the most recent three years' worth is kept on paper. There are also two card indexes which relate to both the microfilm and paper files. GURVITZ estimated the oldest material on South Africa and anti-apartheid activities dates back to the late 1970s or early 1980s.

GURVITZ made no effort to correlate BULLOCK's statement that the information he was furnishing was not very important, to BULLOCK's statement about being paid at least \$7,000 by LOUIS.

POVITZ said the issue of the relationship with South Africa was liously a sensitive one with BULLOCK, so GURVITZ did not probe additional information, but just allowed BULLOCK to tell his story. GURVITZ could tell the issue was sensitive for BULLOCK; in their many previous conversations BULLOCK had otherwise seemed very open to GURVITZ.

GURVITZ does not know exactly when GERARD notified the South Africans about the above Liberty Lobby event. GURVITZ also does not know exactly how BULLOCK learned a South African official would be speaking there. GURVITZ knows that BULLOCK, like, GURVITZ, was a regular reader of the Liberty Lobby newsletter, called the "Spotlight." GURVITZ suspects.BULLOCK

learned of the Liberty Lobby event from reading the Spotlight. GURVITZ had been reading the Spotlight regularly since he started working for the ADL in March, 1989, and he had never seen an annuncement concerning a speech in Las Vegas by a South African official. GURVITZ therefore suspects the event occurred before GURVITZ began working for the ADL.

GURVITZ does not know how much money, in total, BULLOCK was paid by LOUIS. BULLOCK did not specify whether the money LOUIS was paying was LOUIS' own or was from South Africa, though it was GURVITZ' understanding it was the latter. GURVITZ has no information concerning dates, places and methods wherein BULLOCK and/or GERARD may have net with LOUIS. GURVITZ does not know what BULLOCK did with the money he received from LOUIS. BULLOCK did not mention sharing the money with GERARD.

Shortly after the above lunch between GURVITZ and BULLOCK, BULLOCK left on a trip to Germany. BULLOCK went there on ADL business, with the ADL paying for the trip. While BULLOCK was out of the United States, the ADL asked GURVITZ to resign because of threats GURVITZ had allegedly made concerning one RICK EATON, an employee of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles. BULLOCK returned to the United States in October, 1992, after GURVITZ had resigned from the ADL. When BULLOCK found out GURVITZ had been asked to resign, he telephoned GURVITZ to offer his sympathy. The conversation eventually turned back to BULLOCK's dealings with LOUIS. BULLOCK said the information he had given LOUIS was sent "to Pretoria." BULLOCK said LOUIS had thought BULLOCK's information was good, though "Pretoria" was not that impressed with it.

BULLOCK then warned that the FBI might want to talk to GURVITZ about BULLOCK's dealings with South Africa. BULLOCK asked GURVITZ, should this occur, not to tell the FBI about the money BULLOCK received from LOUIS. BULLOCK's words, in asking GURVITZ not to tell the FBI about the money, were, "It means a prison term." GURVITZ understood that, BULLOCK was referring to himself by this statement, not to GERARD. BULLOCK did not tell GURVITZ whether BULLOCK had at that point been interviewed by the FBI concerning South Africa.

GURVITZ noted that when he was subsequently contacted by the FBI, on October 30, 1992, he was caught off guard, had then not sought the benefit of counsel, and still felt some

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loyalty to BULLOCK and the ADL. Nevertheless he admitted the main reason he had chosen to lie to the FBI about BULLOCK's receipt of money from LOUIS, was because BULLOCK had asked him to. GURVITZ said he has since thought better of his actions, and wants to tell what really happened.

GURVITZ was not aware of anyone else in the ADL who, at least at the time, was aware that BULLOCK and GERARD were dealing with the South African Government. GURVITZ did recall one thing he had been told by his former ADL superior TZVIA SCHWARTZ, which GURVITZ now thinks may be pertinent to that issue: SCHWARTZ told GURVITZ that BULLOCK had originally been scheduled to be in Germany only two weeks. Once he got there, though, he was told by IRWIN SUALL, Director of Fact Finding at ADL Headquarters in New York, to stay in Germany until his money ran out. This turned out to be about three and one-half weeks. GURVITZ speculated on whether this was done to keep BULLOCK out of the reach of the FBI for a longer period, assuming the ADL had by then become aware of the FBI's interest in BULLOCK.

GURVITZ had one other contact with BULLOCK after the above October, 1992 telephone conversation. That was two and one-half to three weeks ago, when BULLOCK telephoned GURVITZ. BULLOCK called GURVITZ at GURVITZ' parents' home in Los Angeles. BULLOCK first left a message saying he would call, then called back later the same night. GURVITZ and BULLOCK spoke for about thirty minutes. GURVITZ spent some time "kvetching" about his situation and current state of unemployment, and about the "raw deal" he thought he had been given by the ADL. They discussed RICK EATON and that the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD) thought GURVITZ' and BULLOCK's "threatening" conversation concerning EATON had occurred in April, 1992. BULLOCK told GURVITZ he understood at the time that their discussion of "exposing" EATON's ties to the Simon Wiesenthal Center was a joke. BULLOCK said he does not know why such a big "fuss" is being made over it. BULLOCK said his name had appeared in newspaper stories about this matter. He said he is not currently doing much for the ADL, and was having no contact with RICHARD HIRSCHHAUT (head of the San Francisco ADL office). BULLOCK said the ADL had supplied him with two attorneys, and that the affidavit for the search warrant the SFPD had used to search BULLOCK's residence is still sealed. He told GURVITZ that GERARD is in the Philippines (GURVITZ noted that previously BULLOCK had said GERARD has "friends" in the Philippine

Government equivalent of the FBI.) BULLOCK said also that Detective AL TAYLOR of the Los Angeles Police Department had recently called TZVIA SCHWARTZ, wanting her to ask BULLOCK some questions about the ADL source SCOUT. BULLOCK concluded by promising to sent GURVITZ copies of some of the above newspaper articles (though GURVITZ has not yet received any).

GURVITZ stated that, besides whatever connections GERARD may have with the Philippine Government, he knows of no other foreign government(s) with which BULLOCK and GERARD were involved besides that of South Africa. GURVITZ does not know of any others who were working with BULLOCK and GERARD on behalf of South Africa. It was GURVITZ' impression from talking to BULLOCK that LOUIS was their only South African contact. GURVITZ knows, from BULLOCK's references to "Pretoria," that the South African Government was the consumer of the information being provided through LOUIS, however, GURVITZ does not recall BULLOCK using the terms "intelligence" or "intelligence officer" when speaking of LOUIS. The only tasking which GURVITZ is aware BULLOCK got from LOUIS concerned anti-apartheid matters. GURVITZ is not aware of any other issues in which the South Africans were interested.

GURVITZ was shown copies of a number of documents which had been obtained from a computer seized by the SFPD from BULLOCK's residence on December 10, 1992. The documents, copies of which are attached, were marked with the file names under which they were found in the computer. GURVITZ was asked to comment concerning his familiarity with the documents or subject matter, and whether he recognized any of them relating to things BULLOCK may have spoken of in connection with his work for South Africa. The results are as follows:

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	DOCUMENT		document Name	GURVITZ' COMMENTS
0	NAME BOSAK	GURVITZ' COMMENTS  GURVITZ is familiar with ALLAN BOESAK and SHEHADEH SHEHADEH. This looks like a BULLOCK-type report, and GURVITZ recalls seeing a copy of this particular report at the Los Angeles ADL office. The report would probably have been originally disseminated to the Los Angeles ADL office in care of BETSY ROSENTHAL or TZVIA	HANI.DBX	The Los Angeles ADL office has a file on CHRIS HANI. The file was started by GURVITZ. There is also a Los Angeles ADL file on University of California at Santa Barbara professor GERALD HORNE. GURVITZ has seen this particular report before. GURVITZ recalled that BULLOCK personally attended the function described in the report. GURVITZ does not know if BULLOCK gursolish and the second of the s
		SCHWARTZ, by RICHARD HIRSCHHAUT of the San Francisco ADL office. GURVITZ does not recall that BULLOCK personally attended the meeting described in the report, and he does not know if it was supplied to South Africa by BULLOCK.	KRAFT.DBX	supplied this report to South Africa.  GURVITZ had never seen this document.  The names of SCOTT WALLACE KRAFT and NADINE MARIE VANDERVELDE are unknown to GURVITZ.
	CULTURE.DBX	GURVITZ had not seen this report before. He noted it was not done in a typeface he normally associated with BULLOCK reports. Of the people/entities mentioned in the	PAUL. DBX	The Los Angeles ADL office has a long-file on former United States Congressman RON PAUL. PAUL has ties to the Liberty Lobby organization. GURVITZ did not-recall seeing this particular document before.
0		report, GURVITZ is aware that the Los Angeles ADL office maintains files on the African National Congress, Congressman RON DELLUMS and Los Angeles City Councilman FARRELL. GURVITZ recalled that the file on FARRELL dated back many years, and that the file on DELLUMS was long but consisted mainly of newspaper articles. GURVITZ does not know if this report was supplied by BULLOCK to South Africa.	RAINBOW.DBX	GURVITZ had seen this document before. He is familiar with most of the names mentioned in the report as they are regular investigative targets of the ADL. GURVITZ noted that one of the person's names spelled in the report as HARRY VICCARO should actually be spelled HARRY VACCARO. The document contains California driver's license and vehicle registration information. Although GURVITZ could get such information from BULLOCK, GURVITZ did not ask him for any of such information mentioned in this document.

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LIST DBX

GURVITZ had seen this document before. GURVITZ recognized it as emanating from a speech by JOHN TYNDELL which was attended by SCOUT. SCOUT would have been listening to the speech, not collecting license plate numbers outside, so GURVITZ is pretty sure the license plates mentioned in the document had to have been supplied by a law enforcement official. GURVITZ said the official would probably be someone from the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office, in particular, probably Deputy TOM GREEP. GURVITZ knows that GREEP handles white supremacist organization investigations. GREEP has copied down license plates at functions which were being attended by BULLOCK, and GREEP has shared such information with the ADL.

JEFF. DBX

In the Spring of 1992 there was broadcast on a radio station in the San Francisco area a program called "African Mental Liberation Weekend." BULLOCK listed to this program and did a report for the ADL on what he heard. The text of a speech by LEONARD JEFFRIES which is contained in this document looks to GURVITZ like a part of BULLOCK's report on the above radio program.

TRIP.DBX

GURVITZ had never before seen this document. GURVITZ has no knowledge of any involvement by the ADL in BULLOCK's relationship with South Africa. GURVITZ also has no knowledge of any connection between the ADL and the South African Government, aside from BULLOCK.

GURVITZ was then shown three pages (attached) from a document labeled PDXDATA/ARAB.DB, which had been taken from a computer seized on December 10, 1992 by the SFPD from GERARD's residence. GURVITZ said he had not seen these specific pages before. He did, however, indicate familiarity with three of the names listed therein as having their own ADL files, and with the other names as possibly having their own ADL files. The three names GURVITZ was familiar with were KHADER MUSA HAMIDE, MICHEL IBRAHIM SHEHADAH, and the last name BARAKAT.

GURVITZ identified HAMIDE as a local leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and a member of the "Palestine Eight" who are currently fighting deportation efforts by the United States Government. GURVITZ recalled writing a memo on HAMIDE, who has his own file in the Los Angeles ADL office. GURVITZ identified SHEHADAH as another local PFLP leader who has his own file in the Los Angeles ADL office, and who is also a member of the "Palestine Eight." GURVITZ recalled he once wrote a memo concerning SHEHADAH: GURVITZ identified BARAKAT as the last name of another member of the "Palestine Eight," though GURVITZ was not sure if this listed person was one of the "Eight" or another BARAKAT. GURVITZ said he could not recall if other people listed in the three pages had their own ADL files.

With regard to memos he wrote while in the employ of the ADL, GURVITZ indicated they generally followed a specific pattern of distribution. Copies would be sent to ADL Headquarters in New York, to the attention of one or more of the following people: IRWIN SUALL, TOM HALPERN, ALAN SCHWARTZ, GAIL GANS and MORT KASS. Copies would also usually be sent to the San Francisco ADL office, where BULLOCK would receive them, and a copy would be given to TZVIA SCHWARTZ, or, before her, BETSY ROSENTHAL, at the Los Angeles ADL office. Less frequently, a copy of a GURVITZ memo would also be sent to DAVID LEHRER, head of the Los Angeles ADL office.

GURVITZ was shown a copy of a thirty-seven page document (attached) regarding the Nation of Islam (NOI), which begins with the table of contents page. GURVITZ identified it as a copy of a document he had once found in the files of the Los Angeles ADL office. GURVITZ said he believed it to have been

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originally a product of the FBI, although he had never seen its original cover page. GURVITZ explained that when he originally came across this document, it was attached to a memo from former Los Angeles ADL employee BETSY ROSENTHAL. The memo indicated ROSENTHAL had obtained the document from "official friends" and that it should be treated confidentially. GURVITZ explained that "official friends" is ADL parlance meaning a law enforcement Turce. GURVITZ noted that the version presently shown to him is appropriately strong the page here inked out.

photocopy and has numerous words which have been inked out. SURVITZ indicated that the version he first saw also contained the inked-out portions, but was not a photocopy; i.e. the portions were actually masked with ink. This, GURVITZ explained, allowed him to hold the document up to a light and read through the inked areas. Some of these areas mentioned FBI sources. From this GURVITZ concluded the document had been produced by the FBI. GURVITZ added, though, that he never attempted to confirm this with ROSENTHAL or anyone else in the ADL. GURVITZ eventually gave a copy of the NOI document to BULLOCK, and he sent another copy to MIRA BOLAND, an ADL investigator in Washington, D.C. GURVITZ sent a copy to BOLAND after she told him she was writing a newspaper article about the NOI. GURVITZ now knows, from being interviewed by the SFPD, that BOLAND and GERARD had become acquainted when she accompanied GERARD and some other police officers on an ADL-sponsored trip to Israel. Previously, he had been unaware that GERARD and BOLAND knew each

GURVITZ was also shown a copy of a twenty-eight page document titled "The African National Congress (ANC)/South African Communist Party (SACP) Alliance: Salient National And International Issues," a copy of a fourteen page document called the "Africa Activists' Guide," and a copy of a four page remo regarding "African National Congress Support Groups" [1] of which are attached). GURVITZ indicated no familiarity these documents.

GURVITZ was then shown a copy of the cover page (attached) of volume three of a June, 1986 FBI report titled, "Popular Front For The Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) - New York Area." GURVITZ indicated no familiarity with this report.

GURVITZ stated that, despite his discovery of the above NOI document, which he believes to have been produced by the FBI, he has never been told by anyone in the ADL that the ADL has any

"sources" in the FBI, nor does GURVITZ know of any such ADL "sources" in the FBI.

This is not to say that the ADL does not have "sources" in American law enforcement. GURVITZ denied any knowledge of the ADL ever paying a law enforcement officer for information, if one does not count the value of trips to Israel which the ADL periodically sponsors for American law enforcement officers. The ADL does, however, make efforts to obtain information of value from its law enforcement contacts. GURVITZ and BULLOCK both engaged in such efforts on behalf of the ADL. GURVITZ noted that BULLOCK had the ability to obtain access to computerized law enforcement data bases, through which BULLOCK and the ADL could obtain such things as driver's license, vehicle registration and criminal history information. BULLOCK's ability to do this predated GURVITZ' ADL employment. GURVITZ, therefore, although he did eventually make his own law enforcement contacts, continued to use BULLOCK to obtain such information.

GURVITZ was, on his own, able to establish good rapport with three Los Angeles area law enforcement officers. They sometimes provided him with such things as copies of California driver's license photographs and computer printouts of California driver's license information, concerning persons of interest to the ADL. They gave him such things not because GURVITZ or the ADL was performing specific functions for them, but because they generally shared with the ADL information on matters of mutual interest. Sometimes, though, GURVITZ acknowledged, he would be able to obtain law enforcement information based on his specific requests. GURVITZ said the three officers with whom he established good rapport were all Los Angeles County Sheriff's deputies. He identified them as TOM GREEP, JERRY WHITFIELD and KEN INDICK. GURVITZ reiterated, though, that BULLOCK was his main source for access to computerized law enforcement records. GREEP, WHITFIELD and INDICK communicated with GURVITZ because they all were handling investigative matters which corresponded to areas of ADL investigative interest, and GURVITZ and the ADL had information which was of value to them.

The Los Angeles ADL office also received information from other law enforcement sources. GURVITZ recalled the ADL used to receive copies of monthly reports on white supremacist activity, which were published by the Portland, Oregon, Police Department. The Seattle office of the ADL would obtain copies of

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these reports and distribute them to other ADL offices. In addition, GURVITZ recalled that a couple of years earlier the Los Angeles ADL office obtained some police surveillance photographs of Nazi demonstrators which had been taken by the Glendale, California, Police Department in the 1960s.

GURVITZ was shown a copy of a <u>San Francisco Chronicle</u> newspaper article, dated February 12, 1993, titled, "Names of 12,000 Appear in Evidence Seized in Probe of Former S.F. Cop" (attached). GURVITZ was asked to note the names of two persons in the article, ABDEL HAMID SALAH and MOHAMMAD JARAD, who were listed as being from the Chicago, Illinois area and as having been detained by Israel'i authorities. GURVITZ indicated no familiarity with either name. GURVITZ indicated that if the ADL had an interest in these people, any reference to them would likely be found in the files of the Chicago ADL office given that they are from the Chicago area. GURVITZ added that, in his opinion, an article about the SFPD investigation of BULLOCK and GERARD which appeared in the <u>Los Angeles Times</u> newspaper on February 26, 1993 (attached), is more accurate than anything he has seen from a San Francisco newspaper.

It was pointed out to GURVIT2 that many media reports which have appeared about BULLOCK and GERARD have alleged a connection between the ADL and Israeli Intelligence. GURVITZ denied knowledge of any formal connection between the ADL and Israeli Intelligence. He added, though, that that did not mean there were no contacts between Israeli and ADL officials.

GURVITZ stated that, while he was employed by the ADL, officials from the Los Angeles Israeli Consulate would occasionally come to the Los Angeles ADL office to brief ADL employees on "what's going on in Israel." GURVITZ could not think of any examples of Israeli officials asking for information from ADL files, but GURVITZ also was not aware of any prohibition on sharing such information with Israel. GURVITZ was aware of only one example wherein information in possession of the ADL was actually transmitted to the Israeli Government. He is aware of that example because GURVITZ himself transmitted the information. GURVITZ explained that, in approximately 1992, he learned from a law enforcement contact that a known member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, named MICHAEL ELIAS, was about to travel from San Francisco International Airport to Haifa, Israel. GURVITZ called the Los Angeles Israeli Consulate,

and advised a Deputy Consul General about the situation. Later the same day, GURVITZ was called back by another man, who said he was from the Israeli Consulate, and who asked GURVITZ to repeat the information about ELIAS. GURVITZ did not get this man's name, but their conversation was in Hebrew so GURVITZ felt confident the man was actually an Israeli Consulate official.

GURVITZ noted that ADL information collection activities are not limited to only non-Jewish targets. GURVITZ knows the ADL also collects information about the Jewish Defense League, which the ADL considers an extremist organization, and about followers of the late Israeli rabbi MEIR KAHANE and his right-wing "Kach" political party.

Inat follows are actual copies of several spyreports that Anti-Defamation League (ADL) operative Roy Bullock filed with the ADL reporting on several different meetings that he attended. There is also, interestingly, a report on the activities of African National Congress leader Chris Hamiwho was recently as assinated. Whether the ADL or any of its associated agencies, such as the Israeli Mossad, hadra hand in orchestrating Hanis demise is a matter subject to speculation. The pages shown here (reproduced in size for space considerations) are exact photoceproductions of documents released by the Sam Francisco District Attorneys of free which is conducting a criminal investigation of the ADL aspyring works and its illegallactivities.

HANF . DEX

SUBJECT: Chris Hami
Place : Los Angeles,Ca.
Data : 4/27/91

chriz Hani's Los Angeles appearance, held at the Hilton Hotel, drew a disappointingly low turnout. Chairs were set for an anticipated 500; less than 200 attended and the bulk of the audience was comprised of the Communist Party faithful. The oldline cadre of white and predominately lewish members are rapidly fading from the scene. The relics still living the dottering old creatures, many confined to walkers or cames. The dership has passed to a generation of largely Chicano activists with members are the control of largely chicano activists with members are the control of largely chicano activists with members are the control of largely chicano activists with members are the control of largely chicano activists with members are control of largely chicano activists with members are rapidly chicano activists.

Perhaps because of the speaker, there were a couple of dozen Black participants including the Haster of Ceremonies, <u>Prof. Gerald Horns</u>. The rest of the audience was middle-aged to elderly whites with a salting of Young Communist Leagers in their mid-twenties. The literature tables, consisting of displays of Harxist classics and party propagands, were staffed by Chicano females. Other Chicanos acted as ushers, stage hands and security. Stacks of the <u>People's Weekly World</u> interview with Chris Hani (attached to this report) were freely distributed and batchs of petitions were available calling on President Bush to main sanctions. One table was devoted to ANC material including T-shirts, badges and decals.

The theme of the meeting was emblazoned on a paper banner stretched across the stage "Take Apartheid Apart." A second banner, which appeared to be hastily executed, read "Congress. Dont Lift the Sanctions, " which affixed to a side wall. Perhaps it was symbolic that the stage banner partically collapsed just as Hani stepped to the microphone. A party functionery, clearly distressed by the disturbance, quickly tore the dangling slogan down and dusped it off stage.

The auditorium was embarrassingly empty when the scheduled opening time of 1:00 pm arrived; only a handful of the elder folk were wedged into the center row of seats. By 2:00 enough people had straggled in to at least make a respectable showing. At 2:30 the program organizers decided to make the best of the attendance and start the proceedings. Prof.Horne, unctuously informed the audience that the delay had been caused by the demands of the news media for interviews with Hami. This was only retically true since the tw camera crews had finished by 1:30. More they the comrades stalled hoping for a full house, a development which wer occurred.

Due to the lateness of the hour the velcoming ceremonies were shortened and the entertainment portion of the program—a musicade performed by the South African Gumboot Dancers—was mercifully cancelled. Gerald Horne, Chairman of the Black Studies Program at UC Santa Barbara and a member of the National Lawyers Guild chaired the event. An elegant and polished speaker, Conrade Horne pledged anew his solidarity with the ANC whose struggle for freedom paralleled that of Black America. We are both fighting "the same racism, the same greed, even the same corporations."

KRAFT. DBI

subject: Scott Kraft date : 3/25/90

Scott Wellace Kraft (dob: passes) is a writer for the Los Angeles Times specializing in South African affairs. He is a member of the Angrican rederation of Television and Radio Artists. Currently he resides at any states Avenue in Venice (a suburban beach community of Los Angeles noted for its bohesian atmosphere). Subject is described as a white male 6,1/170 lbs with blond hair and green eyes. (photo attached).

He is living with and/or traveling with Ms. Madine Marie Vandervelde. possibly a RSA national. She is a white fenale with a dob of annual. She is 5,4 and weighs 10% lbs. (photo attached). She had a pravious address of the state of the stat

Kraft's articles appear frequently in the Times, are well researched and written. Since many of his dispatchs carry a South African datelina, it is assumed that he spends, at least part of his time, in South Africa.

BOSAK

subject: Allan Boesak/ Shehadeh Shehadeh place : Los Angeles, Ca. date : April 27, 1991

Only 37 people, most of them parishioners of St. John's Episcopal Church, gathered in its neo-Gothic pile to hear two visiting ministers speak on the church's role in peace and justice. It was a bare bones program: a welcoming statement by Rev. Warner R. Travnham. Rector of St. Johns which was bland and inoffensive, two 20 minute speaches by the principles and the chanting of a litany written by the United Congregational Church in South Africa. There was no literature save for the program. At the conclusion spokesmen for the sponsoring organizations were given two minutes each. "Rev. "Hans L. Holborn for the Southern Calif. Ecurencial Taskforce on South Africa. and Rev. Darrel Heyers for the recently established Taskforce on Christian Presence in the Holy Land. The evening anded with the collection plate being passed.

chadeh Shehadeh, Anglican Canon of St. George Cathedral in Jerusalen Ad currently a resident of <u>McCornick Theological Center</u> in Chicago, spoke first. A portly (i.e., stout) figure in a rumpled suit of atrocious color. Shehadeh exuded warsth and friendliness from every pore. Like a favorite uncle who had come to patch up a family quarrel ("we are all Semites, Jevs and Arabs alike") he adopted a tone of 'come, let us reason together. "-at the outset of his remarks.

As counsel for the defense of the Arab world, Shehadeh portrayed a culture free of bias and religious bigotry. In Jerusalea, for instance, there was no discrimination between Arab and Christian. As for the PLO, which he repeatedly stressed was the voice of Palestinian aspirations, there were "Christian board neabers." As for the long standing feud between Israel and the Palestinians, it was the only problem troubling the region. Once it was solved and a democratic, secular state of Palestine created, the divisions affecting the Middle Isst would cease. It would, once again, be just one, big, happy family.

From this lofty pinnacle, Shehadeh then descended into apportioning the blame for the present, unfortunate difficulties. Part of the problem was the misperception of Israel as the only Democracy in the Middle East. Granted, he said, compared to the autocratic Arab kingdoms surrounding it, the Zionist state appeared democratic. "But it is not a democracy to us Palestinians." For Palestinians in Israel, there is at best, only a second-class citizenship. "The Jewish farmer has all the water he wants" while the Palestinians farmer has little...our villages do not receive the state subsidizes Israel lavishes on Jewish settlements. Our schools and classrooms receive only a pittance compared to state funding of Jewish educational institutions. In the annual budget for villages and towns, malestinians get less than 4 t of the allotted funds."

the had recently examined old maps of the area and was shocked at the discovery of how rapidly Arab control of the land had passed into the hands of the Jews. In 1948 Arabs owned 94% of the territory; today it is lass than 2%."

The only solution was the creation of a Palestinian homeland and this, Shehadeh asserted, must include the West Bank, the Golen Heights, Sinai. and the Gaze strip."

During a brief question period, someone remarked that they had read in the Los Angeles Times where a rabbl had claimed Israel was guaranteed to the Jews by God. Shehadeh smiled. Yes, he was aware of the Biblical passage giving Israel unto perpetuity to the seed of Abraham. But, the added, what went before and after. When the Jews ended their exile in the desert, did they come into an empty land? Were there not many nations

living in the area. Nor should we forget the "human aspect of this problem." Just because it was prophesied in the Bible, must the Palestinians living there now simply pick up and move. Had they no rights in the matter."

And to the question, what can the United States do to help resolve the problem. Shehadah replied by reminding the audience that Israel existed largely due to American favors. People in the U.S., he said, "should pressure the government to lean on Israel by threatening to suspend its special privileges. These included "massaive foreign aid", "no tariffs on imports" and the protected sale of Israeli bonds. In sort, cut the purse strings and they will soon come to their senses.

Shehadah had also heard, from the lips of Jimmy Carter, 'that " there wasn't an Arab state that wanted to see a Palestinian homeland established." But this was easy to understand. "After all, Palestine will be a democratic, secular state. And that example will prove a threat to all the royal thrones and nationalist dictatorships."

The Reverend Allan Bocsak, now sailing under the title of <u>Director</u>, of the <u>Foundation</u> for <u>Peace and Justice in South Africa</u>, cuts a far different figure from that of Shehadah. Save and urban, ispeccably dressed in a fashionable Armani suit, the former <u>President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches</u>, is savoir-faire to his (well manicured) fingertips. His English is clearly enuciated and flows smoothly although his voice is pitched rather high and has a rhythmical undulation sometimes referred to as "singsong."

Boesak thought that the church in South Africa was "entering a period of great danger." He explained that the government "was now speaking the language that the church likes to hear", that is reasonableness and reform. There are voices within the Christian community who are urging a greater accommodation with Pretoria. They say, 'We have been so negative toward the government when it was clearly wrong that we should change our tone now that de Klerk has embraced reform.' Boesak called this "the language of euphoria" and roundly denounced it. Such spokesmen were only connected with surface, not substance. Everything to date was only connected.

"The new South Africa cannot be built by the oppressor for the oppressed." Rather, "everything will have to be broken down and started anew." In this hour of national peril, the church's duty was never more clear or urgent. A clean slate must be demanded or else " a new South Africa will be just a slightly different version of apartheid."

In the question period however, Boesak was a trifle more optimistic. "I think we are moving toward genuine negotiations" he said. But he warned against "lifting the boycott until all the laws of apartheid have been scrapped." He added that "a date for free elections must also be announced" before any talk of resuming trade with South Africa commence.

The only time Boesak touched on Israel was during the question period. He remarked that should it continue in it's present posture, it would soon stand " in moral isolation just like South Africa today."

subject: Symposium on Cultural and Academic

Links with South Africa.

place : Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel, Los Angeles, Ca.

date : 5/ 11-12/91

The once postponed symposium sponsored by the IN Centre against Apartheid finally took place, although pared down from it's original program and without any of the announced Hollywood stars billed in the advertisements. The earlier event had been cancelled at the last minute without any notification; an oversight for which Ms. Christina Galante of the Centre apologized. Someone, she explained, was supposed to leave a recorded message on the telephone hotline explaining that the meeting had been postponed. But the message was not activated until two days before the scheduled conference. As a result, several people showed up at the hotel only to learn that the symposium date had been changed.

After observing the chaos surrounding the symposium of May 11-12, it is easy to understand the earlier confusion. As an organizing force, the Centre borders on incompetence. The Los Angeles chapter is composed of female volunteers, apparently without any prior knowledge of how to run a conference. They misplaced their literature, lost the delegate list and put forth a printed agenda that was only half fulfilled. On Saturday, several participants were turned away because the session was a private conference, closed to the public (although it was not so announced). However, on Friday, May 10, a "public" gathering had occurred at the hotel-an event not listed on the program and only posted in the hotel lobby. Before the convening of the Sunday segment of the agenda, two rows of chairs were removed near the speaker's stand on the instructions of one of the organizers. Ten minutes later, the chairs were returned on the orders of another organizer. Another snit developed over who was sitting where, with the place names being shuffled from chair to chair and table to table. It is small wonder that the meeting began almost 40 minutes

The opening session was billed as 'The Beginning of the End of Apartheid: The Role of the International Community.' Needless to say, few of the speakers actually addressed themselves to the theme. The Mayor of Los Angeles, Tom Bradley, offered a few extemporaneous remarks, boasting of the city's leading role in organizing a boycott of South Africa. He pledged that he would continue to lead the fight until apartheid was totally abolished. Until that time 'anyone doing business with South Africa will not do business with the city of Los Angeles. This sentiment was seconded by the chairman of the LA City Council, Bill Farrand. He paid homage to retiring city councilman Farrell who had spearheaded the antiapartheid campaign in the city. ("He taught us the meaning of the word") Like all the other speakers, Farrand advocated no let up in the boycott. Welson Mandela was free today, he ended, "but Mr. Mandela still cannot voie in South Africa.

The chairman, Prof. Ibrahim A. Gambari of Nigeria, read his remarks; the only person at the symposium to offer a written paper. He traced the recent developments in South Africa which he characterized as hopeful but warned those states that were now calling for the lifting of sanctions that Apartheid is still alive.

Barry Gordon, National President of the Screen Actors Guild, who had taken part in the closed proceedings the previous day, summed up the thrust of the conference when he spoke of "establishing a duel track of pressure and assistance. The cultural boycott cannot be relaxed but efforts must now be made to assist in the development of a "democratic culture in South Africa.

At the closed session, he had been in the same from as the South Africa

actor Zakes Nokae and playwright Maishe Maponya- "an experience I will never forget. And it's particularly poignant," he went on "whea you realize that these performers have international acclaim, that we have seen their work and marveled at them, and yet, they still have difficulty performing in certain areas of their own country. This situation cannot be allowed to exist and will not be allowed to exist as long as we continue what we started, which is to keep up the pressure on the South African government...To tell them...that they're not going far enough, that they must begin to make now the definitive moves to end apartheid in that country. But with political freedom, which hopefully will come soon, there must also be artistic freedom. And therefore, we have another goal as artists and representatives of the cultural community. And that is to assist the artists and artistic community that already flourishs in South Africa. They need all the help we can give them, all the support we can give them. As Union President 1 am particularly heartened to hear about the progress being made in terms of forming actors, musicians...into trade unions in South Africa, to break down this dual structure that currently exists in favor of a...non-racial performers union... They need to know how we organize, they need to know how we deal with management and great steps, were made in that direction when representatives of the writers guild. directors guild and other guilds met with representatives from South Africa to begin that process of communication.

Teboro Missole spoke as the representative of the African National Confress. A short, barrel-chested man in a teal blue suit, Mr. Mafole was the social lion of the symposium. He collected a crowd wherever he went and seemed particularly attached to M. Aria Saijonmaa, a. Finish entertainer.

Like the other speakers, Mafole offered an extremely cautious appraisal of the pace of reform in South Africa. As he put it the changes to date are not profound. He suggested that 'the yardstick to be used in measuring the Pretoria's regime compliance with the UN resolution is the issue of land. He called it 'the single most important step' in re-creating a democratic South Africa. democratic South Africa.

Mafole was puzzled over the savage fighting in the townships and asked rhetorically: Why have our people turned on one another? The answer he deftly delivered. The 'so-called black on black violence' was promoted by the South African government in order to weaken the forces of liberation. As a prerequisite to solving this problem, he called, as a first step, for the abolition of "cultural weapons" (i.e., Zulu spears, etc) although he did not advocate ANC self-defense units.

The boycott must not only be maintained but "strengthened." And the greatest pressure must be applied to the United States. As Mafole put it, the South African regime could not exist a single day without the support of the United States.

He was followed to the rostrum by a representative of the other "liberation movement" recognized by the UN - Mr. Ahmed Gora Ebrahim of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. Ebrahim was the only speaker to break the decorum of the conference. In blunt words he told the audience "Liberation is never given. It must be fought for." Or again, "you should not expect any change in the country if you are not willing to fight for it. And changes, he added, must be fundamental.

While Mafole lumbered through his remarks in a dull, plodding style, Ebrahim delivered a lively, sarcastically humorous recital which was clearly the hit of the convention. He mocked de Klerk's request that sanctions be lifted by sacering that "it was the slave owner saking for a reward for freeing his slaves." The audience erupted into laughter and applause. Then, remembering that he was at a cultural symposium, Ebrahim

devoted a few sentences to the subject of "people's culture." Culture, he asserted, "must be part and parcel of the oppressed people...and the artist must identify with that struggle." It was not enough that South African actors came to Hollywood and played gangster roles, he continued. That was not developing the kind of revolutionary conscienceness which must form an integral part of true culture.

A short message of greeting from Congressman Ron Delluma was read (\*keep the South African government moving forward...\*) and a functionary from the Mayor's office distributed several "awards of merit" to participants of the symposium. With that the morning session abruptly closed.

The afternoon-segment of the program, which began predictably late, heard "reports" from the panels of the previous day. (Although the program listed the closed panel discussions lasting throughout the day, all but one of the sessions ended after an hour. After that the participants retired to the bar, or left the hotel altogether. There was, in short, very little in the way of actual work performed.)

Ms. Aria Saijonma, a tall, dark blond actress from Finland read a few notes she made while chairing the closed panel session on "the future role of cultural, academic and entertainment communities." Her voice edged with militancy, Ms. Saijonma opened with the pledge "we shall make known to the world that the international cultural community will not rest until the present fascistic regime in South Africa is, but a grey memory..." The "implementation of the cultural boycott" she continued, demonstrated "the power of the artist."

She called for the continuation of the boycott but believed that it it ime to change our position...from against to for." In the future, the role of the artist must be "to support and build together in South Africa a cultural community in the post-apartheid period. Ms. Saijonna made it clear that this task would be directed entirely by the progressive (i.e., ANC) forces. "It is up to you to tell us when you want us to come to South Africa, and under what conditions. Do you want us to come and raise our voice against apartheid? Do you want us to give workshops? Those of us who come to South Africa must have a purpose. (We must consult before we arrive) so that you can tell us what to say when we come... But be confident that we are at your side..."

This servile performance was justily applauded by the audience.

Until the close of the session, panelists scated at the head tables took turns answering questions from the audience. According to the place names on the tables participants included, Rathid Lanie, Jabu Nemenya. I. Souri. H.H. Jorth. John Kani. Lawrence Dworkin and Maishe Maponya. Dennis Brulus. identified as a professor at the University of Pritsburgh, proved to be one of the more articulate. He called for 'the strengthening and widening of the boycott' and for increased vigilance on the part of apartheid's foes. "Africans", he continued, 'also believe that it is the (mission) ofthe international cultural community to counter the propaganda that the apartheid regime is spreading in this country to the effect that apartheid is over..."

He saw a double task facing the progressive, artistic community in the future: (a) popularizing the struggle against apartheid and (b) insuring that the liberation of South Africa is total and complete. We have also on the list of things to be done...encouraging the growth of an alternative culture inside South Africa. This, he ended his remarks, was necessary to fill the vacuum created by the collapse of apartheid.

Few of the answers actually addressed the question and most of 'the speakers' were short on concrete suggestions. For example, a lady asked

"What are you saying to the Hollywood studios and television productions...about the cultural boycott. What must they say and what must they do? What behavior do you want from them?" (Many of the questions were phrased in this kind of grovelling language) Maishe Maponya (I believe) replied with an airy discourse on the "need to assist the South African cultural workers to develope their culture."

Ms. Christa Armstrons, a member of the board of directors of the African Arts Fund. Inc., made one of the few specific proposals on the conference. She called on American film studios to allow African students to observe production techniques on the job. The ACA would pay all the bills and make the necessary arrangements. "All we ask of you," she continued, " is to expose our students to the way films are made and to have our students working with you..."

The African Arts Fund Inc., 156 East 79th Street. Suite 6A, New York, N.Y., was also allowed to display their literature at the conference; the only organization to do so except for the sponsoring W. The Executive Director is Dawn Zain, a South African exile who had previously served in the Unit Arainst Apartheid at the IN. At least three of the board members came to the symposium including Zain, and vigorous solieted funds from the Hollywood crowd in attendance.

## Comments:

As a substitute for the earlier scheduled symposium, this conference displayed signs of being hurriedly convened with little organizational planning. Not one of the Hollywood personalities advertised in the promotional literature appeared. Only one producer of standing, Frank Capra. If. was in attendance and he took no part in the proceedings. Although he was listed as a special guest, he made only a token appearance and left early.

Two themes dominated the conversations among the participants in the lobby and during the luncheon: how to maintain the boycott and how to counter the "South African propaganda machine." Everyone agreed that the boycott was seriously eroding. While influential voices are still raised in support of the cultural isolation of South Africa, there is a noticeable trend developing to view the de Klerk government as sincere and honest in its efforts at reform. Anti-apartheid forces are also being characterized as "negative", as only being against something with no positive proposals of their own. To this end, the anti-partheid movement has been forced on the defensive.

For the African participants in particular, there is a mood of depression. They feel that the American news media has been manipulated by the South African government. The phrase on everyone's lips was "the South African propaganda machine", -how effective it had been in convincing the world that significant change had taken place and that relations should now be normalized. Too many people are now believing this message and for this reason, the boycott is weakening rapidly.

Corrage of the event by the news media was almost nil. The Los Angeles Times did not mention the symposium and only one local to channel referred to the meeting. That was a 24 second sound bite showing the chairman, Prof. Gambari, addressing the meeting. If the purpose was publicity, the event failed dismally.

Ministrollows is the list of secreticles on a winder arriety of organizations and hindividuals amaintained thy ADL fact finder Roy Edward Bullock. These pages (reduced in size for spaces on site actions) (are exact photore productions of the documents released by the Samerane is cold by the Famerane is cold by the Famerane is conducting a criminal line set ligation of the ADL's space work.

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	ORGANIZATIONS	*	<b>,</b>			ORGANIZATIONS		-
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3		INITIALS:	PALE		30	GENERAL UNION OF PALESTINE STUDENTS	INITIALS:	GUPS
4		INITIALS:	PAX		31	GENERAL UNION OF PALESTINIAN STUD.	INITIALS:	GUPS
5	ARAB AMERICAN DEMO. CLUB	INITIALS:	AADC		32	INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN-AMER.STUDIES	INITIALS:	COMM
6	ARAB BOOK CENTER	INITIALS:			33	IRANIAN STUDENTS ASSOCIATION	INITIALS:	IRAN
•	ARAB PEOPLE'S COALITION	INITIALS:	сони		34	IRAQI INTELLIGENCE OFFICER	INITIALS:	
8	ARAB RELIEF FUND FOR LEBANON	INITIALS:	PHRC		35	IŞLAMIC JIHAD	INITIALS:	IRAN
9	ARAB STUDIES QUARTERLY/ MERIP	INITIALS:	MERIP		36	ISLAMIC SOCIETY OF ORANGE COUNTY	INITIALS:	
10	ARAB-AMER. DEMOCRATIC CLUB	INITIALS:	AADC		37	ISRAELI CIVIL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION	INITIALS:	
11	ARAB-AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC CLUB	INITIALS:			38	JIFNA ASSOCIATION	INITIALS:	PALE
12	ARAB-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY GRADS	INITIALS:	AAUG		39	KHILAFAH	INITIALS:	MUS
13	ARAB-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY GRADS.	INITIALS:	AAUG		40	LAW IN THE SERVICE OF MAN	INITIALS:	PALE
14	ARABIC BOOK CENTER	INITIALS:			41	MASJID AL-ISLAM	INITIALS:	MUS
15	BAY AREA FRIENDS OF CHRISTIC INST.	INITIALS:	BAFCI		42	MASQID AL-SAFF MOSQUE	INITIALS:	islam
16	BETHLEHEM ASSOCIATION	INITIALS:	PALE		43	MIDDLE EAST JUSTICE NETWORK	INITIALS:	PALE
<del>1</del> 7	BLACK MUSLIMS	INITIALS:	MSU		44	MIDDLE EAST JUSTICE NETWORK, THE	INITIALS:	PALE
18	COMM. FOR A DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE	INITIALS:	PALE		45	MUSLIM MUTADHAKKIRUN ASSOCIATION	INITIALS:	MUS
19	COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS:	COM		46	MUSLIM STUDENTS ASSOCIATION	INITIALS:	MSA
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<b>)</b>	DEM.FRONT FOR LIB.OF PALESTINE	INITIALS:	PALE		48	MUSLUM STUDENTS UNION	INITIALS:	MSU
22	DEM.FRONT LIBERATION PALESTINE	INITIALS:	DFLP	£	49	NATION OF ISLAM	INITIALS:	ISLAM
23	DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR LIB.OF PALE.	INITIALS:	DFLP		50	NATIONAL ASSOC. ARAB AMERICANS	INITIALS:	иххх
24	DEMOCRATIC PALESTINIAN YOUTH	INITIALS:	DPY		51	NATIONAL LAWYER'S GUILD	INITIALS:	nlg
25	DEMOCRATIC PALESTINIAN YOUTH	INITIALS:	SPY		52	NOVEMBER 29TH COMMITTEE	INITIALS:	N29
26	DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN STUDIES	INITIALS:	MUS		53	NT.ASSOC. ARAB AMERICANS	INITIALS:	NAAA
	2 3 4 5 6 8 9 10 11: 12: 13: 14: 15: 16: 17: 18: 19: 20: 23: 24: 25:	ARAB AMERICAN DEMO. CLUB ARAB BOOK CENTER ARAB PEOPLE'S COALITION ARAB RELIEF FUND FOR LEBANON ARAB STUDIES QUARTERLY/ MERIP ARAB-AMER. DEMOCRATIC CLUB ARAB-AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC CLUB ARAB-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY GRADS ARAB-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY GRADS. ARABCA FRIENDS OF CHRISTIC INST. BAY AREA FRIENDS OF CHRISTIC INST. BETHLEHEM ASSOCIATION BLACK MUSLIMS COMM. FOR A DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE COUNCIL ARAB AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS DEM.FRONT FOR LIB.OF PALESTINE DEM.FRONT LIBERATION PALESTINE DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR LIB.OF PALE. DEMOCRATIC PALESTINIAN YOUTH	INITIALS: INITIA	INITIALS: COMM INITIALS: MUS  INITIALS: PALE INITIALS: PAX  ARAB AMERICAN DEMO. CLUB INITIALS: AADC ARAB BOOK CENTER INITIALS: ARAB PEOPLE'S COALITION INITIALS: COMM ARAB RELIEF FUND FOR LEBANON INITIALS: PHRC ARAB STUDIES QUARTERLY/ HERIP INITIALS: MERIP ARAB-AMER. 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DEMOCRATIC CLUB INITIALS: AADC 37 ARAB-AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC CLUB INITIALS: AAUC 37 ARAB-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY GRADS INITIALS: AAUG 39 ARAB-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY GRADS. INITIALS: AAUG 39 ARAB-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY GRADS. INITIALS: AAUG 40 ARABIC BOOK CENTER INITIALS: BAFCI 42 BAY AREA FRIENDS OF CHRISTIC INST. INITIALS: BAFCI 42 BETHLEHEM ASSOCIATION INITIALS: BAFCI 42 TO BLACK HUSLIMS INITIALS: PALE 43 COMM. FOR A DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE INITIALS: PALE 45 COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE INITIALS: COMM 46 COUNCIL ARAB AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS INITIALS: PALE 48 DEM. FRONT LIBERATION PALESTINE INITIALS: DFLP 50 DEM. 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INITIALS: AUG 40 LAW IN THE SERVICE OF HAN  ARAB-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY GRADS. INITIALS: BAPCI 42 MASQID AL-SAFT MOSQUE  BETHLEIMEN ASSOCIATION INITIALS: RALE 41 MASJID AL-ISLAM  ARAB-AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF CHRISTIC INST. INITIALS: BAPCI 42 MASQID AL-SAFT MOSQUE  BETHLEIMEN ASSOCIATION INITIALS: RALE 43 MIDDLE EAST JUSTICE METHORK, THE  BLACK MUSLIMS INITIALS: RSU 44 MIDDLE EAST JUSTICE METHORK, THE  COMM. FOR A DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE INITIALS: COMM 46 MUSLIM STUDENTS ASSOCIATION  DEMORPT AND AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS INITIALS: CAMO 47 MUSLIM STUDENTS ASSOCIATION  DEMORPT AND AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS INITIALS: DELP 50 NATIONAL ASSOCIATION  DEMORPT ALESTIMIAN YOUTH INITIALS: DELP 50 NATIONAL LAWYER'S GUILD  20 DEMOCRATIC PALESTINIAN YOUTH INITIALS: DELP 50 NATIONAL LAWYER'S GUILD  21 DEMOCRATIC PALESTINIAN YOUTH INITIALS: SPY 52 NOVEMBER 29TH COMMITTEE	INITIALS: COMM 28 EL FATAH INITIALS:  INITIALS: HUS 29 GEN.UNION OF PALESTINIAN STUDENTS INITIALS:  INITIALS: PALE 30 GENERAL UNION OF PALESTINE STUDENTS INITIALS:  ARAB AMERICAN DEMO. 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INITIALS: FATAH

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RB ARAB

NT.ASSOC. OF ARAB AMERICANS

NT.ASSOC.ARAB AMERICAN

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INITIALS: NAAA

INITIALS: NAAA

RB ARAB

EL FATAH

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INITIALS: APART

INITIALS: ANC

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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONFRESS

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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56	OCCUPIED LAND FUND	INITIALS:	PALE	1	·	INITIALS:	APART
57	PALESTINE AMERICAN YOUTH	INITIALS:	PALE	2		INITIALS:	APC
58	PALESTINE ARAB CLUB	INITIALS:	PALE	3		INITIALS:	CISPE
59	PALESTINE ARAB FUND	INITIALS:	PAF	4		INITIALS:	COMM
60	PALESTINE ARAB FUND	INITIALS:	PALE	5		INITIALS:	CUBA
61	PALESTINE DEMOCRATIC YOUTH ORG.	INITIALS:	PDYO	6		INITIALS:	DRUGS
<b>1</b> 2	PALESTINE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN	INITIALS:	PFIRC	7		INITIALS:	GAY
<b>J</b> 23	PALESTINE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN/82	INITIALS:	PERC	8		INITIALS:	INCAR
64	PALESTINE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE	INITIALS:	PSC	9		INITIALS:	JEW
65	PALESTINE WOMAN'S ORGANIZATION	INITIALS:	PALE	10		INITIALS:	NAP
66	PALESTNE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN/82	INITIALS:	PHRC	11		INITIALS:	NIC
67	PFLP	INITIALS:	PALE	12		INITIALS:	PALE
68 -	POP.FRONT LIBERATION PALESTINE	INITIALS:	PFLP	13		INITIALS:	PART
69	POPULAR FRONT LIBERATION OF PALE.	INITIALS:	PFLP	14		INITIALS:	PAX
70	PROGRESSIVE MUSLIM ALLIANCE	INITIALS:	NUS	15		INITIALS:	PERU
71	PROGRESSIVE MUSLIM ALLIANCE	INITIALS:	РКА	16		INITIALS:	PHIL
72	SACRED HOUSE OF ISLAM	INITIALS:	ISLAM	17		INITIALS:	RCP
73	THE FAMILY SPONSORSHIP PROJECT	INITIALS:	PALE	18		INITIALS:	SRAF
74	THE OCCUPIED LAND FUND	INITIALS:	PALE	19		INITIALS:	
75	UNION OF PAL. WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION	INITIALS:	PALE	20	ACT NOW	INITIALS:	GλΥ
<b>K</b> 6	UNION OF PALE.WOMEN'S ASSOC.	INITIALS:	PALE	21	ACT UP	INITIALS:	GλΥ
<b>J</b> 7	UNION OF PALESTINIAN WOMAN'S ASSOC.	INITIALS:	PALE	22	ACT-UP	INITIALS:	GAY
	•			23	ACTION FOR ANIMALS	INITIALS:	
				24	ADRIAN 17	INITIALS:	GAY
				25	AFRICAN BLACK STUDENTS ORG./SF STA.	INITIALS:	BLACK

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	28	AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS	INITIALS: NAC	56	AMERICAN FOR PEACE NOW	INITIALS: PAX
	29	AFRICAN NETWORK	INITIALS: APART	57	AMERICAN INDIAN CENTER	INITIALS:
	30	AFRICAN NT.REPARATIONS ORGANIZATION	INITIALS: ANRO	58	AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT	INITIALS: AIM
	31	AFRICAN PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST PARTY	INITIALS: APSP	59	AMERICAN INDIAN STUDENT ORGAN.	INITIALS: PART
	32	AFRICAN PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY PARTY	INITIALS: APRP	60	AMERICAN MUSLIM MISSION	INITIALS: APART
	33	AFRICAN PEOPLES SOCIALIST PARTY	INITIALS: APSP	61	ANARCHIST COLLECTIVE	INITIALS: SA
1		AFRICAN PEOPLES SOLIDARITY COMM.	INITIALS: APSC	62	ANC MEETING	INITIALS: ANC
1		AFRICAN PEOPLES SOLIDARITY COMMIT.	INITIALS: AFSC	63	ANG KATIPUNAN	INITIALS: AK
	36	AFRICAN PEOPLES SOLIDARITY COMMTT.	INITIALS: APSC	64	ANTI-APARTHEID COMMITTEE/AFSCME	INITIALS: APART
	37	AFRICAN STUDENT ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: APART	65	ANTI-HILITARISM COMMITTEE	INITIALS:
	38	AFRICAN STUDENT'S ASSOC. (PRES.86)	INITIALS: APART	66	ANTI-RACIST ACTION	INITIALS: ARA
	39	AFRICANS UNITED FOR PROGRESS	INITIALS: APART	67	ANTONIO MACEO BRIGADE	INITIALS: CUBA
	40	AFRO-AMER.STUDENTS FOR RACIAL JUST.	INITIALS: BLACK	68	APARTHEID BOYCOTT CAMPAIGN	INITIALS: APART
	41	AFSCHE LOCAL 3218 (VICE PRESIDENT)	INITIALS:	69	APRIL 19TH COMMITTE AGAINST NAZIS	INITIALS:
	42	AFSCHE LOCAL 3506	INITIALS: LABOR	70	ARAB BAATH SOCIALIST PARTY	INITIALS: ABSP
	43	ALBUQ.INTER-HEMP.ED.RESOURCE CNTR.	INITIALS: AIER	71	ARAB LESBIAN NETWORK	INITIALS: GAY
	44	ALEXANDRIA ASS.OF HUMAN RGTS.ADVOC.	INITIALS: JBAK	72	ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE	INITIALS: ARMEN
	45	ALL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS	JINITIALS: APC	73	ARMENIAN PEOPLES HOVEMENT	INITIALS: APH
	46	ALL PEOPLES CONGRESS	INITIALS: APC	74	ARMS CONTROL RESEARCH CENTER	INITIALS: CAIB
	47	ALL-AFRICAN STUDENT CONFERENCE	INITIALS: APART	75	ARMS CONTROL RESEARCH CENTER	INITIALS: PAX
1		ALL-PEOPLE'S CONGRESS	INITIALS: APC	76	ART AGAINST APARTHEID	INITIALS: APART
-		ALLIANCE FOR PHILIPPINE CONCERNS	INITIALS: AFPC	77	ARTIST'S TELEVISION ACCESS	INITIALS: PAX
	50	ALLIANCE TO STOP FIRST STRIKE	INITIALS: ASFS	78	ARTISTS & VIDEOMAKERS AGAINST T/WAR	INITIALS: PAX
	51	ALLIANCE TO STOP POLICE ABUSE	INITIALS: GAY	79	ARTISTS AGAINST APARTHEID	INITIALS: APART
	52	ALLIED PRINTING TRADES COUNCIL	INITIALS:	80	ARTISTS AND WRITERS OUT LOUD	INITIALS: PAX
	53	ALTERNATIVE INFORMATION CENTER	INITIALS: AIC	81	ASIAN LAW CAUCUS	INITIALS: ALC
	54	AMER-I-CAN	INITIALS: ISLAM	82	ASIAN LAW CAUSUS	INITIALS: N29
	55	AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION	INITIALS: ACLU	83	AUDIO ARCHIVES	INITIALS: APART

	84	AUTHOR OF MEASURE J	INITIALS:	112	BIR ZEIT UNIVERSITY INSTRUCTOR	INITIALS:
	85	BABYLON BURNING	INITIALS:	113	BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT AZANIA	INITIALS: APART
	86	BACK COUNTRY ACTION NETWORK	INITIALS:	114	BLACK FREEDOM FIGHTERS COALITION	INITIALS:
	87	BAD COP/NO DONUT	INITIALS: GAY	115	BLACK HEN UNITED FOR CHANGE	INITIALS: BLACK
	.88	BARRICADA INTERNACIONAL (CO-EDITOR)	INITIALS: NICA	116	BLACK STUDIES DEPART., S.F. STATE	initials: black
	89	BARRICADA INTERNATIONAL	INITIALS: NICA	117	BLACK UNITED FUND	INITIALS: APART
	90	BAY AREA ANTI-APARTHEID NETWORK	INITIALS: APART	118	BORICUAN POP.ARMY FOR PR INDEPEND.	initials: part
C	<b>)</b> ,	BAY AREA ANTI-RACIST ACTION	INITIALS: ARA	119	BOYCOTT COKE	INITIALS: APART
6	32	BAY AREA ANTI-RACIST ACTION	INITIALS: BARA	120	BOYCOTT SHELL COMMITTEE	INITIALS: APART "
	93	BAY AREA COAL. FOR REPRODUCTIVE RGTS	INITIALS: PART	121	BREAKTHROUGH	INITIALS: PFOC
	94	BAY AREA FREE SOUTH AFRICA COMM.	INITIALS: APART	122	BRIGADA A. MACEO (CUBA)	INITIALS: CUBA
	95	BAY AREA FREE SOUTH AFRICA MOVE.	INITIALS: BAFSA	123	BROTHERS OF AFRICAN DESCENT	INITIALS: BLACK
	96	BAY AREA FREE SOUTH AFRICA MOVEMENT	INITIALS: BAFSA	124	BULLETIN IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM	INITIALS: FIT
	97	BAY AREA FRIENDS OF CHRISTIC INST.	INITIALS: BAFCI	125	CALENDAR MAGAZINE	INITIALS: JBAK
	98	BAY AREA JEW.TASKFORCE ON CEN.AMER.	INITIALS: JEW	126	CALIFORNIA VOICE NEWSPAPER	INITIALS: APART
	99	BAY AREA LABOR COMMITT.ON CEN.AMER.	INITIALS: BALCC	127	CAMAPAIGN AGAINST APARTHEID	INITIALS: APART
:	100	BAY AREA NT. CONF. BLACK LAWYERS	INITIALS: NCBL	128	CAMPAIGN AGAINST APARTHEID	INITIALS: APART
;	101	BAY AREA PEACE COUNCIL	INITIALS:	129	CAMPAIGN AGAINST APARTHIED	INITIALS: APART
:	102	BAY AREA PEACE NAVY	INITIALS:	130	CAMPUS PEACE COMMITTEE	INITIALS: APART
:	103	BAY AREA REPORTER	INITIALS: GAY	131	CAMPUS PEACE COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PAX
:	104	BAY AREA TIMES	INITIALS: GAY	132	CANADIANS FOR JUSTICE IN MID.EAST	INITIALS: N29
	<b>1</b> 5	BAY AREA VETS.AGST.WAR IN MID.EAST	INITIALS:	133	CAPP STREET CENTER	INITIALS: APART
	6	BAY AREA/NT. CONF.BLACK LAWYERS	INITIALS: NCBL	134	CAPP STREET FOUNDATION	INITIALS: CAPP
;	197	BAY GUARDIAN	INITIALS: PAX	135	CARPENTERS LOCAL 22	INITIALS: LABOR
	108	BAY GUARIAN	INITIALS: PAX	136	CASE EL SALVADOR	INITIALS:
	109	BEEBEE MEMORIAL C.M.E. TEMPLE	INITIALS: APART	137	CASE EL SALVADOR (MAILING LIST)	INITIALS:
	110	BEN LINDER CONSTRUCTION BRIGADE	INITIALS: NICA	138	CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS	INITIALS:
	111	BIG MOUNT. NATIVE PEOPLE'S SUPPORT	INITIALS: AIM	139	CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL	INITIALS: CDR

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140	CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL	INITIALS: CFDR	168	CONSTRUCTOR OF CORDERSONS	**************************************
141	CENTER FOR INVESTIGATIVE REPORTING	INITIALS: CIR	169	COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: APART
142	CENTER FOR MIDDLE EAST STUDIES	INITIALS:		COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: COC
143	CENTRAL AMER. RESEARCH INSTITUTE	INITIALS: CARIN	170	COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: COMM
144	CENTRO LEGAL DE LA RAZA	INITIALS: RAZA	171	COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: CUBA
145	CHAIRPERSON: CHICANO STUDIES, BERK.	INITIALS:	172	COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: GAY
146	CHOP FROM THE TOP	INITIALS: LABOR	173	COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE	Initials: Jew
147	CHRISTIC INSTITUTE	INITIALS:	174	COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE	Initials: NLG
	CHRISTIC INSTITUTE	INITIALS: CHRIS	175	COMMITT. FOR ACAD. FREEDOM IN ISR	INITIALS: PALE
	CHURCH NETWORK ON THE PHILIPPINES	INITIALS: PHIL	176	COMMIT. FOR EQUALITY AND JUSTICE	INITIALS: N29
150	CISPES	INITIALS:	177	COMMITT. FOR PEACE AND DEM. IN IRAN	INITIALS: IRAN
151	CISPES	INITIALS: CISPE	178	COMMIT. TO SUPPORT THE REVL. IN PERU	INITIALS: PERU
152	CISPES	INITIALS: N29	179	COMMUNIST PARTY, USA	INITIALS: CPUSA
153	CITIZENS FOR REPRESENTATIVE GOVT.	INITIALS: CRG	180	COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS: CWP
		INITIALS: DRUGS	181	COMMUNIST YOUTH BRIGADE	INITIALS: RCP
154	COALITION AGAINST POLICE ABUSE	INITIALS: CFN	182	COMMUNITY UNITED AGAINST VIOLANCE	INITIALS: GAY
155	COALITION FOR NICARAGUA		183	COMMUNITY UNITED AGAINST VIOLENCE	INITIALS: GAY
156	COALITION OF BLACK	INITIALS: APART	184	COMMUNITY-LABOR COAL.SOCIAL/EC.JUST	INITIALS: LABOR
157	COALITION OF BLACK TRADE UNIONISTS	INITIALS: LABOR	185	COMT. FOR ACADEMIC FREEDOM OCCP. TER.	INITIALS: CAFIO
158	COM. SOLIDARITY PEOPLE EL SALVADOR	INITIALS: CISPE.	186	CONTINUING THE PEACE DIALOGUE	INITIALS:
159	COMITE POR CENTRO DE LA RAZA	INITIALS: RAZA	187	CONTRA WATCH NEWSLETTER	INITIALS: CW
160	COMM. FOR FREEDOM IN ARGENTINA	INITIALS:	188	COP WATCH	INITIALS:
161	COMM. PERMANENT ISRAEL-PALESTIN. PAX	INITIALS:	189	COPWATCH	INITIALS:
	COMMISSION OF INQUIRY	INITIALS: COMM	190	COUNCIL FOR THE NATIONAL INTEREST	INITIALS: PALE
	COMMITTE OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: APART	191	COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS	INITIALS: APART
164	COMMITTEE AGAINST LOCKHEED D-5	INITIALS: CALDS	192	COUNTERSPY MAGAZINE	
165	COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: APART	193		INITIALS:
166	COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE	INITIALS: COMM	193	COVERT ACTION	INITIALS: CA
167	COMMITTEE TO FREE GERONIMO PRATT	INITIALS: PFOC		COVERT ACTION	INITIALS: CAIB
			195	COVERT ACTION INFORMATION BULLETIN	INITIALS: CAIB

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	196	COVERT ACTION/ NOW MAGAZINE	INITIALS: CA	224	EMER.COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: AFT61
	197	CTR.FOR STUDY OF THE AMERICAS	INITIALS:	225	EMER.COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: NAJDA
	198	CUBA RESOURCE GROUP	INITIALS: RAZA	226	EMER.COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: PDWO
	199	CUBAN INFORMATION PROJECT	INITIALS: COMM	227	EMER.COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: PSA
	200	DATA CENTER	INITIALS: DATA	228	EMER.COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: RFT
	201	DATA CENTER	INITIALS: DC	229	EMER.COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: UPAW
	202	DELTA SIGNA BETA	INITIALS: PART	230	EMERG.COAL.FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS:
	503	DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA	INITIALS: DSA	231	EMERG.COMMTT.TO END WAR IN MID.EAST	INITIALS: PAX
U	204	DEMOCRATIC WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS: DWP	232	EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO END WAR	INITIALS:
	205	DENNIS BANKS DEFENSE COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PHIL	233	EMERGENCY COMMITT. TO STOP FLAG AMEND	INITIALS:
	206	DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN STUDIES	INITIALS: JEW	234	EMERGENCY COMMTT. TO STOP WAR IN ME	INITIALS: PAX
	207	DIABLO VALLEY PEACE CENTER	INITIALS: PAX	235	ENDORSER OF PROP W.	INITIALS:
	208	DIRECT ACTION AGAINST RACISM	INITIALS: DAAR	236	EVANGELICAL LUTHERN CHURCH OF SA	INITIALS: APART
	209	DIRECT ACTION AGAINST RACISM	INITIALS: PAX	237	EX.BOARD, NABET, LOCAL 51	INITIALS: LABOR
	210	DOGHOUSE NEWSLETTER	INITIALS: LABOR	238	FAIRNESS & ACCURACY IN REPORTING	INITIALS: FAIR
	211	DOWNSIDE RECORDS	INITIALS: ARA	239	FAIRNESS AND ACCURACY IN REPORTING	INITIALS:
	212	DYKES & GAY EMERGENCY RESPONSE	INITIALS: GAY	240	FAIRNESS AND ACCURACY IN REPORTING	INITIALS: FAIR
	213	EARTH ISLAND INSTITUTE	INITIALS: EII	241	FIGHTING BACK	INITIALS: FB
	214	EAST BAY WOMEN FOR PEACE	INITIALS:	242	FILIPINO EAST BAY NETWORK	INITIALS: PHIL
	215	EL CENTRO DE LA RAZA	INITIALS: ECDR	243	FILIPINO ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PHIL
	216	EL CENTRO DE LA RAZA	INITIALS: NIC	244	FMLN, FDR WEST COAST REPRESENTIVE	initials: FMLN
	217	EL TECOLATE	INITIALS: PAX	245	FOOD FIRST	INITIALS: FF
	218	EL TECOLOTE	INITIALS:	246	FOOD NOT BOMBS	INITIALS:
	219	EMER. COAL. FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS:	247	FOOD NOT BOMBS	INITIALS: DRUGS
	220	EMER. COAL. FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: COMM	248	FREE GERONIMO PRATT	INITIALS:
	221	EMER: COAL. FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS:	249	FREE MOSE MAYEKISO COMMITTEE	INITIALS: APART
	222	EMER. COAL. FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: AAI	250	FREE SOUTH AFRICA LABOR COMMITTEE	INITIALS: APART
	223	EMER. COAL. FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS	INITIALS: ADC	251	FREEDOM FOR S.AFRICAN REFUGEE CAMP.	INITIALS: PFOC

252	FREEDOM FOR S.AFRICAN REFUGEE CEN.	INITIALS: APART	280	ILWU LOCAL 10	INITIALS: LABOR
253	FREEDOM RISING-AFRICA SOLID.COMMTT.	INITIALS: APART	281	IN THESE TIMES	INITIALS: ITT
254	FREEDOM ROAD SOCIALIST ORG.	INITIALS: COMM	282	INCAR/ 1983	INITIALS: INCAR
255	FREEDOM SOCIALIST	INITIALS:	283	INDEPENDENT GROCERS ASSN.	INITIALS: ARAB
256	FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY	INITIALS:	284	INDEPENDENT GROCERS'S ASSOC.	INITIALS: IGA
257	FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY	INITIALS: APART	285	INFORM.NETWORK AGAINST WAR/FASCISM	INITIALS: GAY
3	FREEDOM SOCIALIST PARTY	INITIALS: FSP	286	INFORMATION SERVICES ON LATIN AMER.	INITIALS: ISLA
	FRIENDS OF NICARAGUA	INITIALS: NICQ	287	INSTITUTO DEL PUEBLO	INITIALS:
260	FRIENDS OF YESH GVUL	INITIALS: JEW	288	INTER-HEMISPHERIC ED.RESOURCE CENT.	INITIALS: IERC
261	FRONTLINE	INITIALS:	289	INTER. COMMTT. AGAINST RACISM	INITIALS: INCAR
262	FRONTLINE	INITIALS: FL	290	INTER.CAMPAIGN TO FREE GER.PRATT	INITIALS: PFOC
263	GAY & LESBIAN LABOR ALLIANCE	INITIALS: GAY	291	INTER. COMMITEE AGAINST RACISM	INITIALS: INCAR
264	GAY AMERICAN INDIANS	INITIALS: GAY	292	INTER. COMMITTEE AGAINIST RACISM	INITIALS: INCAR
265	GEN.UNION OF PALESTINIAN STUDENTS	INITIALS: GUPS	293	INTER.COMMITTEE AGAINST RACISM	INITIALS: INCAR
266	GENERAL UNION OF PALESTINIAN STUD.	INITIALS: GUPS	294	INTERFAITH CENTER ON CORP.RESPON.	INITIALS: APART
267	GLOBAL EXCHANGE	INITIALS: APART	295	INTERFAITH CENTER ON CORP.RESPONS.	INITIALS: APART
268	GLOBAL EXCHANGE	INITIALS: COMM	296	INTERFAITH COUNCIL ON CORP.ACCOUNT.	INITIALS: APART
269	GLOBAL OPTIONS	INITIALS: GO	297	INTERFAITH TASK FORCE ON CEN.AMER.	INITIALS: COMM
270	GLOBAL OPTIONS/ CRIME SOCIAL JUST.	INITIALS: GO	298	INTERNATIONAL COMMITT.AGAINST RACISM	INITIALS: INCAR
271	GLOBEL EXCHANGE	INITIALS: PALE	299	INTERNATIONAL INDIAN TREATY COUNCIL	INITIALS:
72	GREEN GIANT FROZEN FOOD WORKERS COM	INITIALS: LABOR	3,00	INTERNATIONAL JEWISH PEACE UNION	INITIALS: JEW
	GREENPEACE	INITIALS: PAX	301	'INTERNATIONAL JEWISH PEACE UNION	INITIALS: PAX
274	GROUP FOR CRITICAL STUDY COLONIAL	INITIALS: APART	302	INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGAN.	INITIALS: ISO
275	GUARDIAN	INITIALS: G	303	INTERNATIONALIST WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS: IWP
276	GUATEMALE NEWS AND INFO.BUREAU	INITIALS:	304	IRISH NATIONAL AID	INITIALS: INA
277	HARVEY HILK CLUB	INITIALS: GAY	, 305	IRISH NORTHERN AID	INITIALS: INA
278	HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES #2	INITIALS: LABOR	306	IRISH NORTHERN AID COMMITTEE	INITIALS: INAC
279	ILWU	INITIALS: CUBA	307	IRISH REP. SOCIALIST COMMTT.	INITIALS: IRSC

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	308	ISRAELI FOREIGN AFFAIRS	INITIALS:	336	LIBERATION SUPPORT HOVEMENT *	INITIALS:	LSH
	309	ISRAELIS AGAINST OCCUPATION	INITIALS:	337	LIBROS SIN FRONTERAS	INITIALS:	
	310	JAP.AMER. CITIZENS LEAGUE	INITIALS: JACL	338 ້	LINE OF MARCH	INITIALS:	
	311	JEWISH COMMITTEE ON THE HIDDLE EAST	INITIALS: JCOME	339	LOS ANGELES STUDENT COALITION	INITIALS:	SWP
	312	JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE	INITIALS: JDL	340	LYDON LAROUCHE	INITIALS:	ROUCH
	313	JEWS FOR JESUS	INITIALS: JEWS	341	MADRE	INITIALS:	
	314	JOHN BROWN ANTI-KLAN COMMITTEE	INITIALS: JBAK	342	HALCOLM X GRASS ROOTS HOVEMENT	INITIALS:	x
	315	JOHN BROWN ANTI-KLAN COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PFOC	343	MALCOLM X GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT	INITIALS:	
لا	316	JOHN BROWN ANTI-KLAN COMMTT.	INITIALS: PFOC	344	HALCOLM X GRASSROOTS HOVEHENT	INITIALS:	JBAK
	317	RAHANE	INITIALS: JDL	345	HANDELA RECEPTION COMMITTEE	INITIALS:	APART
	318	KQED BOARD OF DIRECTORS	INITIALS: KQED	346	MAOIST INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT	INITIALS:	MIM
	319	KUNA	INITIALS: N29	347	MARAZUL TOURS	INITIALS:	CUBA
	320	L.A. OBSERVER	INITIALS: COMME	348	MARIPOSA PEACE NETWORK	INITIALS:	PAX
	321	LA COAL.AGAINST INTERVENTION IN ME	INITIALS: PAX	349	MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY	INITIALS:	APART
	322	LA COAL.AGAINST US INTERVENTION ME	INITIALS: PAX	350	MEDIA ALLIANCE	INITIALS:	MA
	323	LA RAZA COALITION OF BEPKELEY	INITIALS: RAZA	351	HEDIA ALLIANCE	INITIALS:	PAX
	324	LA RAZA UNIDA	INITIALS: RAZA	352	MEDIA REVIEW	INITIALS:	MR
	325	LABOR COMMITTEE ON THE MIDDLE EAST	INITIALS:	353	HIDDLE EAST CHILDREN'S ALLIANCE	INITIALS:	PALE
	326	LABOR FOR PEACE	INITIALS:	354	MIDDLE EAST COMMITT.FOR NCBL	INITIALS:	<b>N29</b>
	327	LABOR VIDEO	INITIALS:	355	MIDDLE EAST JUSTICE NETWORK	INITIALS:	PALE
	328	LAGAL	INITIALS: GAY	356	HIDDLE EAST LABOR BULLETIN	INITIALS:	PALE
	329	LATIN AMERICA SUPPORT COMMITTEE	INITIALS:	357	MIDDLE EAST PEACE NETWORK	INITIALS:	
IJ	330	LAVENDAR HAFIA	INITIALS: GAY	358	MIDWEST LABOR INSTITUTE	INITIALS:	APART
	331	LAWYERS COMT.ON CENTRAL AMERICA	INITIALS:	359	MILLS COLLEGE	INITIALS:	APART
	332	LEAGUE OF FILIPINO STUDENTS (US)	INITIALS: PHIL	360	MOBILIZATION SUPPORT GROUP	INITIALS:	-
	333	LEONARD PALTERIA ALLIANCE GROUP	INITIALS: AIM	361	MODERN TIMES COLLECTIVE	INITIALS:	GAY
	334	LESBIAN AGENDA FOR ACTION	INITIALS: GAY	362	MOTHER JONES	INITIALS:	
	335	LESBIANS & GAYS AGAINST INTERVENT.	INITIALS: LAGAI	363	MOTHER JONES	INITIALS:	PAX

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	364	MOVIMIENTE DE AGRUPACION POPULAR	INITIALS: LABOR	392	NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION	INITIALS: NAPO
	365	HOVIMIENTO ESTUDIANTIL CHICANO	INITIALS: MECA	393	NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLES ORGAN.	INITIALS: NAPO
	366	N.AMER.CHAP.INTER/LEAGUE RIGHTS	INITIALS:	394	NEW AFRIKAN PEOPLES ORGANIZATION	INITIALS: PFOC
	367	N.CALIF.ECUMENICAL COUNCIL	INITIALS:	395	NEW ALLIANCE NEWSPAPER	INITIALS: NAP
	368	NALC, LOCAL 214	INITIALS: LABOR	396	NEW ALLIANCE PARTY	INITIALS: NAP
	369	NATIONAL MIDWEEK	INITIALS: NM	397	NEW AMERICAS PRESS	INITIALS:
	370	NATION OF ISLAM	INITIALS: ISLAM	398	NEW JEWISH AGENDA	INITIALS: JEW
	)1	NATIONAL CALL TO ACTION	INITIALS: NCA	399	NEW JEWISH AGENDA	INITIALS: NJA
	372	NATIONAL CONF. OF BLACK LAWYERS	INITIALS:	400	NEW MOVE. IN SOLID.WITH P.R. INDEP.	INITIALS: P.R.
	373	NATIONAL CONF. OF BLACK LAWYERS	INITIALS: NCBL	401	NEW MOVEMENT IN SOLID.WITH PUERTO R	INITIALS: NMSPR
	374	NATIONAL FORUM OF SOUTH AFRICA	INITIALS: APART	402	NICARAGUA CULTURAL CENTER	INITIALS: NICAR
	375	NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMM.	INITIALS: CAIB	403	NICARAGUA INFO. CENTER	INITIALS: NIC
	376	NATIONAL LAWYER'S GUILD	INITIALS: NLG	404	NICARAGUA INFORMATION CENTER	INITIALS: NIC
	377	NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD	INITIALS:	405	NICARAGUA INTERFAITH COMMTT.ACTION	INITIALS: NICA
	378	NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD	INITIALS: APART	406	NICARAGUA NETWORK NEWS	INITIALS: NIC
	379	NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD	INITIALS: DRUGS	407	NICARAGUAN INFO.CENTER BULLETIN	INITIALS: NIC
	380	NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD	INITIALS: NLG	408	NO APOLOGIES/ NO REGRETS	INITIALS: GAY
	381	NATIONAL NAMIBIA CONCERNS	INITIALS: APART	409	NO BUSINESS AS USUAL	INITIALS: GAY
	382	NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION	INITIALS: LABOR	410	NO BUSINESS AS USUAL	INITIALS: NBAU
	383	NATIONAL RESPONSE COMMITT/NBAU	INITIALS: NBAU	411	NO JUSTICE, NO PEACE	INITIALS:
	384	NATIONAL STUDENT LOBBY	INITIALS:	412	NORTH BAY ANTI-RACIST ACTION	INITIALS: ARA
	5	NATIONAL UNION OF FARMERS N RANCH.	INITIALS: UNAG	413	NORTH STAR	INITIALS: STAR
•	386	NATIONAL YOUTH SUMMIT	INITIALS: ISLAH	414	NOVEMBER 29 COALITION	INITIALS: N29
	387	NATWJ -CHAIRMAN	INITIALS: N29	415	NOVEMBER 29 COMMITTEE	INITIALS: N29
	388	NATWJ-EDITOR NEWSLETTER	INITIALS: N29	416	NOVEMBER 29TH COMMITTEE	INITIALS: N29
	389	NETWORK OF ARAB/AMERICAN STUDENTS	INITIALS: NAAS	417	NOVEMBER 8TH COMMITTEE	INITIALS:
	390	NETWORK SOLIDARITY WITH CHILE	INITIALS: CHILE	418	NT. ASSOC. OF ARAB AMERICANS	INITIALS: NAAA
	วัจา	NETWORK SOLIDARITY WITH CHILE	INITIALS: NSWC	419	NT. CONF. OF BLACK LAWYERS	INITIALS: N29
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420	NT. CONFERENCE OF BLACK LAWYERS	INITIALS: APART	448	PALESTINE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PSC
421	NT.ALLIANCE THIRD WORLD JOURNALISTS	INITIALS: N29	449 •	PALESTINIAN ACADEMIC FREEDOM NETWOR	INITIALS: PALE
422	NT.ASSOC. FOR ADVANCEMENT OF CP	· INITIALS: BLACK	450	PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS	INITIALS: PAC
423	NT.ASSOC. OF ARAB AMERICANS	INITIALS: NAAA	451	PAN AFRICAN MOVEMENT OF THE U.S.	INITIALS: ,ISLAM
424	NT.COAL.BLACK LESBIANS AND GAYS	INITIALS: APART	452	PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS	INITIALS: APART
425	NT.COMT.AGAINST REPRESSIVE LEGISL.	INITIALS:	453	PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA	INITIALS: APART
426	NT. CONFERENCE OF BLACK LAWYERS	INITIALS: DRUGS	454 -	PARTIDO SOCIALISTA CHILENO	INITIALS: CHILE
427	NT.ORGAN.OF AFRICAN STUDENTS N AMER	INITIALS: ISLAM	455	PARTIDO SOCIALISTA PUERTORRIQUENO	INITIALS: PSP
428	NT.STUDENT CEN.AMER.ACTION NETWORK	INITIALS:	456	PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PDC
429	NUREMBERG ACTIONS	INITIALS:	.457	PATRICE LUMUMBA COALITION	INITIALS:
430	NUREMBURG ACTION	INITIALS: NA	458	PAUL ROBESON FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY	INITIALS:
431	NUREMBURG ACTIONS	INITIALS:	459	PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES	INITIALS:
432	O.C.COAL.FOR PEACE IN HIDDLE EAST	INITIALS: PAX	460	PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY	INITIALS: PFP
433	OAKLAND EDUCATION ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: LABOR	461	PEACE AND JUSTICE COMMIT.SCH.BOARD	INITIALS: CAFIO
434	OCAW	INITIALS: LABOR	462	PEACE AND SOLIDARITY ALLIANCE	INITIALS: PSA
435	OCAW, LOCAL 8149	INITIALS: LABOR	463	PEACE AND SOLIDARITY COMMIT.	INITIALS: PASC
436	OCTOBER 6 JUSTICE PROJECT	INITIALS:	464	PEACE CAFE	INITIALS:
437	OREGON PHILIPPINES CONCERNS COMMIT.	INITIALS: PHIL	465	PEACE RESEARCH CENTER	INITIALS: CAIB
438	OUT OF CONTROL COMMITTEE	INITIALS:	466	PEOPLE AGAINST RACIST TERROR	INITIALS: PART
439	OUT OF CONTROL COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PFOC	467	PEOPLE'S ANTI-WAR MOBILIZATION	INITIALS: PAWM
440	OUTRAGE	INITIALS: GAY	468	PEOPLE'S PARK	INITIALS:
441	PACIFICA FOUNDATION	INITIALS:	469	PEOPLE'S WEEKLY WORLD	INITIALS: COMM
442	PAKISTAN DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PAK	470	PEOPLES ANTI-WAR MOBILIZATION	INITIALS: PAM
443	PAKISTAN DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PDC	471	PEOPLES ARCHITECTURE COLLECTIVE	INITIALS:
444	PALESTINE ARAB FUND	INITIALS: PALE	472	PEOPLES LAW OFFICE	INITIALS: P.R.
445	PALESTINE SOLIDARITY COM. MEETING	INITIALS: N29	473	PEOPLES VIDEO	INITIALS: COC
446	PALESTINE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PSC	474	PEOPLES WORLD	INITIALS: CAIB
447	PALESTINE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PALE	475	PEOPLES WORLD	INITIALS: COMM

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476	PERSHING PLOWSHARES	INITIALS: PP	504	RADICAL WOMEN	INITIALS: GAY
477	PHILIPPINE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PHIL	505	RADICAL WOMEN ,	INITIALS: RW
478	PHILIPPINE RESOURCE CENTER	INITIALS: PHIL	506	RAINBOW COALITION	INITIALS:
479	PHILIPPINES HUMAN RIGHTS LOBBY	INITIALS:	507	RAINBOW LOBBY	INITIALS: NAP
480	PLEDGE OF RESISTANCE	INITIALS:	508	REFUSE AND RESIST	INITIALS:
481	PLEDGE OF RESISTANCE	INITIALS:	509	REFUSE AND RESIST	INITIALS: PAX
482	PLEDGE OF RESISTANCE	INITIALS: PAX	510	REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRIKA	INITIALS: PFOC
483	PLEDGE OF RESISTANCE	INITIALS: POR	511	REVOLUTIONARY BOOKS	INITIALS: RCP
484	PLUMBERS & FITTERS LOCAL 393	INITIALS: LABOR	512	REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY	INITIALS: COMM
	PORTLAND CEN.AMER.SOLIDARITY COMMITT	INITIALS: NICA	513	REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY	INITIALS: RCP
486	PORTLAND CENT.AMER.SOLIDARTY COMMITT	INITIALS: PCASC	514	REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST YOUTH BRIG.	INITIALS: RCP
487	PORTLAND LABOR COMT.ON CEN. AMER.	INITIALS: PALCC	515	REVOLUTIONARY WORKER	INITIALS: COMM
488	PRAIRE FIRE ORGANIZING COMT., LIT.	INITIALS: PFOC	516	REVOLUTIONARY WORKER	INITIALS: DRUGS
489	PRAIRIE FIRE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE	INITIALS: PFOC	517	REVOLUTIONARY WORKER	INITIALS: RCP
490	PRARIE FIRE ORGANIZING COMMTT.	INITIALS: PFOC	518	REVOLUTIONARY WORKER NEWSPAPER	INITIALS: DRUGS
491	PRES./ILWU LOCAL 6	INITIALS:	<b>519</b> ,	REVOLUTIONARY WORKER'S LEAGUE	INITIALS: ARA
492	PRESIDENT, KPOO RADIO	INITIALS: LABOR	520	REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE	INITIALS: RWL
493	PRISON NEWS SERVICE	INITIALS: PART	521	RICHMOND EDUCATION ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: LABOR
494	PROGRESSIVE MUSLIM ALLIANCE	INITIALS:	522	ROOTS AGAINST WAR	INITIALS: PAX
495	PROJECT IMPACT	INITIALS: ISLAM	523	ROOTS AGAINST WAR	INITIALS: RAW
496	PROJECT NATIONAL INTEREST	INITIALS: COMM	524	S.A.FREEDOM THROUGH EDUCATION FOUND	INITIALS: APART
497	PROPONENT OF MEASURE J	IŅITIALS:	525	S.F. ANTI-APARTHEID COMMITTEE	INITIALS: APART
498	PUBLIC EYE	INITIALS: PE	526	S.F.ANTI-APARTHEID COMMITTEE	INITIALS: APART
	PUERTO RICO SOCIALISTA PARTY	INITIALS: PRSP	527	S.F.UNIVERSITY LABOR STUDIES	INITIALS: LABOR
500	QUEER NATION	INITIALS: GAY	528	SACRED HOUSE OF ISLAM	INITIALS: ISLAM
501	QUINN DEFENSE	INITIALS: IRISH	529	SAN FERNANDO VALLEY PEACE COALITION	INITIALS: PAX
502	RADICAL FILM COLLECTIVE	INITIALS: CUBA	530	SAN FRANCISCO ANTI-APARTHEID COMT.	INITIALS: ANC
503	RADICAL WOMEN	INITIALS: FSP	531	SAN FRANCISCO BAY GUARDIAN	INITIALS: GUARD

532	SAN FRANCISCO LABOR COUNCIL/AFL-CIO	INITIALS: LABOR	560	SOUTH AFRICAN INTER. STUDENT CONGRES	INITIALS: SAISC
533	SAN FRANCISCO SENTINEL	INITIALS: GAY	561	SOUTH BAY NICARAGUA SOLIDARITY COM.	INITIALS: NICAR
534	SAN FRANCISCO WEEKLY	INITIALS: GAY	562	SOUTHERN AFRICA LIB. SUPPORT COMMIT.	INITIALS: APART
535	SAN FRANCISCO WOMEN FOR PEACE	INITIALS:	563	SOUTHERN AFRICAN MEDIA CENTER	INITIALS: APART
536	SANE/FREEZE	INITIALS:	564	SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE	INITIALS: SYL
537	SARDARABA	INITIALS: AMP	565	SPARTICIST LEAGUE	INITIALS: PDC
538	SCIENCE FOR NICARAGUA	INITIALS: NICA	566	STEVENS, HINDS AND WHITE ATTORNIES	INITIALS: N29
<b>-23</b> 9	SEEDS OF PEACE	INITIALS: PAX	567	STOP THE US WAR MACHINE ACTION NET.	INITIALS: PAX
_)}o	SEIU LOCAL 535	INITIALS: APART	568	STUDENT COAL.AGAINST APART.AND RAC.	INITIALS: SCAR
541	SEIU LOCAL 616	INITIALS: CUBA	569	STUDENT PUGWASH	INITIALS: NICA
542	SERBIAN UNITY CONGRESS	INITIALS: SERB	570	STUDENTS AGAINST INTERVENTION	INITIALS: NICA
543	SF COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN	INITIALS: LABOR	571	STUDENTS AGAINST INTERVENTION CA	INITIALS:
544	SHARPSKIN	INITIALS: SHARP	572	STUDENTS AGAINST INTERVENTION CA	INITIALS: ELSAV
545	SHELL BOYCOTT COMMITTEE	INITIALS: APART	573	STUDENTS AGAINST INTERVENTIONS CA	INITIALS: ELDAV
546	SIMON WISENTHAL CENTER	INITIALS: JEW	574	STUDENTS AGAINST INTERVENTIONS CA	INITIALS: ELSAV
547	SISTER CITY ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: NICA	575	STUDENTS FOR PEACE IN PERSIAN GULF	INITIALS:
548	SOCIALIST ACTION	INITIALS: SA	576	STUDENTS FOR PEACE IN PERSIAN GULF	INITIALS: PAX
549	SOCIALIST ACTION	INITIALS: SC	577	STUDENTS FOR PEACE IN THE PER.GULF	INITIALS: SPPG
550	SOCIALIST PARTY POLITCAL ORGAN.	INITIALS: SRAF	578	SWAPO	INITIALS: APART
551	SOCIALIST REVIEW	INITIALS:	579	SWAPO HEETING	INITIALS: APART
552	SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS:	58 o	SWAPO MEETING	INITIALS: SWAPO
553	SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS: APART	581	TASS NEWS AGENCY	INITIALS: N29
<b>)</b> 54	SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS: SWP	582	TEAMSTERS LOCAL 921, SF. TDU	INITIALS: LABOR
555	SOCIETY OF IN'ASH EL-USA	INITIALS: N29	583	TECHNICA	INITIALS: APART
556	SOHRI STUDY GROUP ( UC BERKELEY)	INITIALS: KOREA	584	TECHNICA	INITIALS: NICA
557	SOUTH AFRICA FORUM	INITIALS: ANC	585	TECHNICA	INITIALS: TECH
558	SOUTH AFRICA FORUM	INITIALS: APART	586	TECHNICA BOARD OF DIRECTORS	INITIALS: TECH
559	SOUTH AFRICA'S WORKER'S ORGANIZATION	INITIALS: APART	587	THE BLACK SCHOLAR	INITIALS: BLACK

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588	THE CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY MON.	INITIALS: DC	616	UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM	INITIALS: UFAF
589	THE DAZEN-I FOUNDATION	INITIALS: N29	617	US-CUBA LABOR EXCHANGE	INITIALS: LABOR
590	THE IRISHMAN	INITIALS: IRISH	618	US-USSR FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY OF S.F.	INITIALS: COMM
591	THE NUCLEAR RESISTER	INITIALS:	619	USA HOVEMENT BANNING APARTHEID	INITIALS: APART
592	THE OCTOBER 6 JUSTICE PROJECT	INITIALS: GAY	620	UTU LOCAL 1730	INITIALS: LABOR
593	THIRD WORLD FUND	INITIALS: APART	621	VANGUARD FOUNDATION	INITIALS: VAND
594	THIRD WORLD RESOURCES/ DATA CENTER	INITIALS: DC	622	VANGUARD PUBLIC FOUNDATION	INITIALS: VPD
	TORONTO ANTI-INTERVENTIONAL COAL.	INITIALS: SC	623	VENCEREMOS BRIGADE	INITIALS: COMM
5	TRUSTEE, IAM LOCAL 565 (SUNNYVALE)	INITIALS: LABOR	624	VENCEREMOS BRIGADE	INITIALS: CUBA
597	U.S. ANTI-APARTHEID NEWSLETTER	INITIALS:	625	VENCEREMOS BRIGADE	INITIALS: GAY
598	U.S. CHINA REVIEW	INITIALS:	626	VIET-NAM VETERANS ACTION	INITIALS: VA
599	U.S. OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA NETWORK	INITIALS: APART	627	VIETNAME NEWS AGENCY	INITIALS: N29
600	U.S. PEACE COUNCIL	INITIALS: COMM	628	VILLA ZAPATA WORKERS COMMITTEE	INITIALS:
601	U.SCHINA FRIENDSHIP ASSOC.	INITIALS: COMM	629	VOICE OF THE UPRISING	INITIALS: PALE
602	U.SGRENADA FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY	INITIALS: COMM	630	WASHINGTON OFFICE ON AFRICA	INITIALS: APART
603	U.S.COMT.FOR FRIENDSHIP W/GDR	INITIALS:	631	WBAI ( PACIFICA FOUNDATION) NYC	INITIALS: WBAI
604	U.S.PEACE COUNCIL	INITIALS: CAIB	632	WEATHERMAN UNDERGROUND	INITIALS: PFOC
605	WKU	INITIALS: LABOR	633	WITNESS FOR SOUTH AFRICA	INITIALS: APART
606	UAW LOCAL 119/MEMBER NEW DIRECTIONS	INITIALS: LABOR	634	WOMAN, INC:	INITIALS: NAP
607	UBIQUITOUS	INITIALS: GAY	635	WOMEN AGAINST U.S.INTERVENTION	INITIALS:
608	UC BERKELEY	INITIALS: PAX	636	WOMEN AGAINST U.S.INTERVENTION	INITIALS: PFOC
5	UNIFIED AGAINST GENOCIDE	INITIALS: COMM	637	WOMEN IN BLACK	INITIALS: JEW
	UNION DEL BARRIO	INITIALS:	638	WOMEN OF COLOR COALITION CENTER	INITIALS: WCCC
611	UNION DEL BARRIO	INITIALS: APSC	639	WOMEN OF COLOR RESOURCE PROJECT	INITIALS:
612	UNION OF DEMOCRATIC PHILIPPINOS	INITIALS: KDP	640	WOMEN'S INT'L LEAGUE PEACE/FREEDOM	INITIALS: WILPF
613	UNION PUBLICATIONS	INITIALS: UP	641	WOMEN'S INTER.LEAGUE PEACE N FREE.	INITIALS: WILPF
614	UNITED COLORS	INITIALS: GAY	642	WORKERS WORLD PARTY	INITIALS: WWP
615	UNITED FARM WORKERS	INITIALS: UFW	643	WORKERS' WORLD PARTY	INITIALS: WWP

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644 YES ON W COMMITTEE. INITIALS: ARAB YOUNG KOREANS UNITED INITIALS: 645 INITIALS: KOREA 646 YOUNG KOREANS UNITED OF S.F. INITIALS: YSA

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1		INITIALS: ADL
2		INITIALS: ARYAN
3	<b>.</b>	INITIALS: DUKE
4		INITIALS: GANG
5		INITIALS: IDENT
.6		INITIALS: KKK
7		INITIALS: KKKK
8		"INITIALS: NAZI
9		INITIALS: NAZIS
10		INITIALS: PAIN
11		INITIALS: PALE
12	•	INITIALS: POP
13		INITIALS: REVIS
74		INITIALS: SHARP
·15,		INITIALS: SKIN
16		INITIĄLS: SKINS
17		INITIALS: TAX
18		INITIALS: WAR
19	ADOLPH HITLER CHURCH	initïals: nazi
20	AID & ABET	INITIALS:
21.	AID AND ABET	INITIALS:
22	AID AND ABET	IŅITIALS: ABET
23	ALARMING CRY (LETTER TO EDITOR)	INITIALS: CSL
24	ALÁRUM	INITIALS: NAZI
25	ALERT	initïals: Ident
26	AMER. PISTOL AND RIFLE ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: GUNS
27,	AMER, 'S PROMISE MINISTRIES	INITIALS: IDENT

28	AMER.IMMIGRATION CONTROL FOUND.	INITIALS: AICF	56	AMERICANS FOR CONST. JUSTICE, INC.	INITIALS:
29	AMERICA'S DESTINY/NT.VIDEO NETWORK	INITIALS: IDENT	57	AMERICANS FOR NATIONAL SECURITY	INITIALS: LL
30	AMERICA'S PROMISE	INITIALS: IDENT	58	ANSWER	INITIALS: SKINS
31	AMERICAN AGRICULTURE MOVEMENT	INITIALS: AGH	59	ANTI-ABORTIONIST	INITIALS: ABORT
32	AMERICAN CHALLANGE	INITIALS: RW11	60	ANTI-CATHOLIC LEAGUE	INITIALS:
33	AMERICAN CHRISTIAN MINISTRY	INITIALS: IDENT	61	ANTI-RACIST ACTION	INITIALS: ARA
34	AMERICAN FIRM	INITIALS: SKINS	62	ANTI-WIESEL LETTER	INITIALS:
35	AMERICAN FRONT	INITIALS: IDENT	63	APPLIED RESEARCH	INITIALS: IDENT
36	AMERICAN FRONT	INITIALS: SKIN	64	ARIZONA HAMMERSKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
7	AMERICAN FRONT	INITIALS: SKINS	65	ARIZONA KINDRED	INITIALS: ODIN
38	AMERICAN FRONT VIKINGS	INITIALS: SKINS	66	ARIZONA PATRIOTS	INITIALS:
39	AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PARTY	INITIALS: AIP	67	ARIZONA PATRIOTS	INITIALS: AP
40	AMERICAN LIBERTY ASSOC.	INITIALS: NE	68	ARIZONA PATRIOTS	INITIALS: ARIZ
41	AMERICAN MERCURY	INITIALS: AM	69	ARIZONA WHITE BATALLION	INITIALS: SKINS
42	AMERICAN NATIONAL FRONT	INITIALS: ANF	70	ARIZONA WHITE BATTALION	INITIALS: SKINS
43	AMERICAN NATIONAL FRONT	INITIALS: KKK	71	ARIZONA WHITE BATTALION SKINHEADS	INITIALS: SKINS
44	AMERICAN NAZI PARTY	INITIALS: NAZI	72	ARYAN AWAKE	INITIALS: SKINS
45	AMERICAN NAZI PARTY (NSWWP)	INITIALS: NAZI	73	ARYAN BROTHERHOOD	INITIALS: ARYAN
46	AMERICAN NAZI PARTY/MALIK	INITIALS: NAZI	74	ARYAN BROTHERHOOD	INITIALS: SKINS
47	AMERICAN PISTOL AND RIFLE ASSOC.	INITIALS:	75	ARYAN CHRISTIAN KNIGHTS	INITIALS: KKK
48	AMERICAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: KKK	76	ARYAN IDENTITY	INITIALS: SKINS
49	AMERICAN SPRING	INITIALS:	77	ARYAN NATIONALIST CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
50	AMERICAN SPRING	INITIALS: POP	78	ARYAN NATIONS	INITIALS:
<b>)</b> 1	AMERICAN WHITE SEPARATIST	INITIALS: SKINS	79	ARYAN NATIONS	INITIALS: AN
52	AMERICAN WHITE SEPARATISTS	INITIALS: SKINS	80	ARYAN NATIONS	INITIALS: ARYAN
53	AMERICAN WHITE SEPERATISTS	INITIALS: SKINS	81	ARYAN NATIONS	INITIALS: KKK
54	AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS: NAZI	82	ARYAN NATIONS	INITIALS: SKINS
55	AMERICAN-AFRIKANER UNION	INITIALS: APART	83	ARYAN NATIONS BROTHERHOOD	INITIALS: ARYAN

ARYAN NATIONS LIBERTY- NET

ARYAN NATIONS LIBERTY NET

ARYAN NATIONS LIBERTY NET

ARYAN RESISTANCE HOVEMENT

ARYAN RESISTANCE HOVEMENT

ARYAN SOCIALIST YOUTH PARTY

ARYAN TERRITORIAL ÄLLIANCE

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INITIALS: ANYAN

INITIALS: ARYAN

. INITIALS: ARYAN

INITIALS: ARM

INITIALS: SKINS

INITIALS: SKINS

INITIALS: IDENT

INITIALS: SKINS

INITIALS: WAR

RB RIGHT Page · ORGANIZATIONS BIBLE STUDY GROUP INITIALS: IDENT INITIALS: IDENT BIBLE TRUTH RESEARCH BLUE SIX SKINHEADS INITIALS: SKINS INITIALS: POP

115 BO GRITZ FOR PRESIDENT 116 BOER FREEDOM MOVEMENT INITIALS: APART 117 BOERSTAAT PARTY INITIALS: APART INITIALS: SKINS 118 BOMBER BOYS BRAXAS FOUDATION INITIALS: DEVIL 119

120 BUFFALO AREA SKINHEADS INITIALS: SKINS 121 BURBANK PUNK ORGANIZATION INITIALS: SKINS

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95 ARYAN WOMANS LEAGUE INITIALS: SKINS 123 CALIFORNIA WHITE VIKINGS INITIALS: SKINS

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100 ARYAN YOUTH MOVEMENT INITIALS: SKINS 128 CBA BULLETIN INITIALS: TAX

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102 ASSEMBLY OF YAHOWAH THE ETERNAL INITIALS: WSU 130 CENTER FOR STUDY INITIALS:

103 ASSEMBLY OF YAHWEH INITIALS: IDENT 131 CHALCEDON REPORT INITIALS: IDENT

104 ASSOCIATES FOR THE CHRISTIAN LIFE INITIALS: 132 CHICAGO WHITE VIKINGS INITIALS: SKINS

105 AUBURN SKINS INITIALS: SKINS CHRIST'S COVENANT CHURCH 133 INITIALS: IDENT

206 AYRAN FEDERATION INITIALS: PACE 134 CHRIST'S COVENANT PEOPLE INITIALS: IDENT

107 BASIC BIBLE CHURCH OF AMERICA INITIALS: .IDENT 135 INITIALS: IDENT CHRIST'S IDENTITY CHURCH

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109 BEAVERTON BOOT BOYS INITIALS: SKINS 137 CHRISTIAN AMERICAN ADVOCATES INITIALS: IDENT

110 BIBLE BELIEVER'S FELLOWSHIP INITIALS: IDENT 138 CHRISTIAN AMERICAN'RESEARCH LEAGUE INITIALS:

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	140	CHRISTIAN ARYAN PATRIOTS	INITIALS: IDENT	168	CHRISTIAN TASK FORCE	INITIALS: PACE
	141	CHRISTIAN BOOKSTORE	INITIALS: IDENT	169	CHRISTIAN WORKSHOP OF FREELANCE IS.	INITIALS: IDENT
	142	CHRISTIAN COMMTT. TO TEACH BIBLE LAW	INITIALS: IDENT	170	CHRISTIANS FOR TRUTH/REL.FREEDOMS	INITIALS: IDENT
	143	CHRISTIAN CONSERV. CHURCHS OF AMER.	INITIALS: IDENT	171	CHRISTIANS ON POINT NEWSLETTER	INITIALS: IDENT
	144	CHRISTIAN CONSULTING COMPANY	INITIALS: CCC	172	CHRISTHAS STAR CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
	145	CHRISTIAN CRUSADE FOR TRUTH	INITIALS: IDENT	173	CHURCH OF ELIJAH	INITIALS: IDENT
	146	CHRISTIAN DEFENSE LEAGUE	INITIALS:	174	CHURCH OF ISRAEL	INITIALS: IDENT
	147	CHRISTIAN EDUCATOR	INITIALS:	175	CHURCH OF ISRAEL IN THE WILDERNESS	INITIALS: IDENT
	148	CHRISTIAN FORUM NEWSLETTER	INITIALS: IDENT	176	CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST	INITIALS: IDENT
	149	CHRISTIAN GUARD	INITIALS: ARYAN	177	CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST AT PHILA.	INITIALS: IDENT
	150	CHRISTIAN HERITAGE	INITIALS: IDENT	178	CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST CHRISTIAN	INITIALS: IDENT
	151	CHRISTIAN HERITAGE CONFERENCE	INITIALS: IDENT	179	CHURCH OF THE COVENENT, SWORD GARM	INITIALS: IDENT
	152	CHRISTIAN IDENTITY CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT	180	CHURCH OF THE CREATOR	INITIALS: COTC
	153	CHRISTIAN IDENTITY SKINHEAD	INITIALS: SKINS	181	CHURCH OF THE CREATOR	INITIALS: SKINS
	154	CHRISTIAN IDENTITY SKINHEADS	INITIALS: SKINS	182	CHURCH OF THE SWASTIKA	INITIALS: NAZI
	155	CHRISTIAN ISRAEL COVENANT CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT	183	CHURCH OF THE SWASTIKA	INITIALS: SKINS
	156	CHRISTIAN ISRAEL FELLOWSHIP	INITIALS: IDENT	184	CHURCH OF WAR	INITIALS:
	157	CHRISTIAN LAW JOURNAL	INITIALS: IDENT	185	CHURCH OF WAR	INITIALS: WAR
	158	CHRISTIAN OUTREACH LIBRARY	INITIALS: IDENT	186	CHURCH OF WHITE SEPARATION	INITIALS: IDENT
	159	CHRISTIAN PATIOTS DEFENSE LEAGUE	INITIALS: CPDL	187	CIRCLE BIBLE STUDY	INITIALS: IDENT
	160	CHRISTIAN PATRIOT CRUSADER	INITIALS: IDENT	188	CITIZEN'S COUNCIL	INITIALS: NAZI
	161	CHRISTIAN PATRIOT DEFENSE LEAGUE	INITIALS: CPDL	189	CITIZENS BAR ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: TAX
U	162	CHRISTIAN PATRIOTS DEFENSE FUND	INITIALS: ARYAN	190	CITIZENS CLAW	INITIALS:
	163	CHRISTIAN PATRIOTS DEFENSE LEAGUE	INITIALS: CPDL	191	CITIZENS COUNCIL	INITIALS: NAZI
	164	CHRISTIAN PATRIOTS GOD/COUNTRY BOOK	INITIALS: POP	192	CITIZENS FOR FRAUD-FREE ELECTIONS	INITIALS: SP
	165	CHRISTIAN RESEARCH	INITIALS: IHR	193	CITIZENS FOR GOD AND COUNTRY	INITIALS: WSU
	166	CHRISTIAN SONS OF LIBERTY	INITIALS:	194	CLAREMONT INSTITUTE	INITIALS:
	167	CHRISTIAN SONS OF LIBERTY	INITIALS: SP	195	CLUB OF LIFE	INITIALS: LAROU

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	197	COLORADO KINDRED	INITIALS: ODIN	225	EURO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE	INITIALS: REVIS
	198	COMMITTEE FOR AMERICAN /1960'S	INITIALS: CFA	226	EXECUTIVE INTELLIGENCE REVIEW	INITIALS: LAROU
	199	COMMITTEE OF TEN MILLION	INITIALS: ÇTM	227	FAITH SKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
	200	COMMITTEE TO CLEAN UP THE COURTS	INITIALS: POP	228	FAITHSKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
	201	COMMITTEE TO DEBATE THE HOLOCAUST	INITIALS: REVIS	229	FIRST COVENANT CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
	202	COMMON TITLE BOND AND TRUST	INITIALS: CTBT	230	FOCUS	INITIALS: IHR
	203	COUNTT. REEXAMINE WW11	INITIALS: REVIS	231	FORCE 751	INITIALS: COS
	204	COMMITT. TO RESTORE THE CONSTITUTION	INITIALS:	232	FOUNDATION FOR AMER, CHRISTIAN ED.	INITIALS: IDENT
	205	CONFEDERATE HAMMER SKINS	INITIALS: SKINS	233	FRATERNAL WHITE KNIGHTS	INITIALS: KKK
	206	CONFEDERATE KNIGHTS OF AMERICA	INITIALS: KKK.	234	FRATERNAL WHITE KNIGHTS	initials: kkkk
	207	CONFEDERATE KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS: KKKK	235	FRATERNITY OF PREPARATION	INITIALS: FOP
	208	COVENANT CHURCH OF OUR REDEEMER	INITIALS: IDENT	236	FREE GERMAN WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS: NAZI
	209	COVENANT MINISTRIES	INITIALS: IDENT	237	FREEDOM THROUGH TRUTH FOUNDATION	INITIALS: POP
	210	COVENANT OF CHRIST CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT	238	GHOSTRIDER	INITIALS:
	211	COVENANT PEOPLE'S ADVOCATE	INITIALS: IDENT	239	GLK SMITH DONER /1959	INITIALS: GLK
	212	CRIMINAL POLITICS	INITIALS: IDENT	240	GODS PLAN FOR GOOD HEALTH NEWSLETTR	INITIALS: IDENT
	213	CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY USA	INITIALS: POP	241	GOSPEL FOUNDATION	INITIALS: IDENT
	214	CRUSADE AGAINST CORRUPTION	INITIALS: PACE	242	GOSPEL OF CHRIST KINGDOM CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT
	215	DAVID DUKE	INITIALS: DUKE	243	GOSPEL OF THE KINGDOM MISSION	INITIALS: IDENT
_	216	DEFENDER OF THE AMER. CONSTIT./54	INITIALS: DAC	244	GRAND DRAGON INDIANA, KNIGHTS KKK	initials: KKK
	217	DESERT FOX ENTERPRISES	INITIALS: NAZI	245	GRESHAM ARYAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: SKINS
	218	DESTINY PUBLISHERS	INITIALS: IDENT	246	GUN OWNERS ACTION COMMITTEE	INITIALS: GUNS
	219	EAST SIDE BOOT BOYS	INITIALS: SKINS	247	H.U.G. LIBERTY	INITIALS: IDENT
	220	EAST SIDE MAFIA	INITIALS: SKINS	248	HAMMER SKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
	221	EAST SIDE WHITE PRIDE	INITIALS: SKINS	249	HAMMERHEAD/ YOUNG BLOOD	INITIALS: SKINS
	222	EDITORIAL RESEARCH SERVICE	INITIALS: REVIS	250	HAMMERSKINS	INITIALS: SKINS
	223	ELECTRO-MAGNETIC RESEARCH CENTER	INITIALS: IDENT	251	HEARTLAND WAR DIRECTOR	INITIALS: WAR

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	308	L.A. DEATH SQUAD	INITIALS:	SHARP.		337	MULTIPLICATION UNLIMITED, INC.	INITIALS:	
	309	LAPORTE CHURCH OF CHRIST	INITIALS:	IDENT		-338	HCCALDEN REVISIONIST NEWSLETTER	INITIALS:	REVIS
	310	LAROUCHE	INITIALS:	LAROC		339	NAAWP NEWS	INITIALS:	NAAWP
	311	LAROUCHE	INITIALS:	LAROU		340	NAT.SOC.WHITE PEOPLES PARTY	INITIALS:	NAZI
	312	LAROUCHE FOR PRESIDENT	INITIALS:	LAROU		341	NAT. SOCIALIST WHITE WORKERS PARTY	INITIALS:	nswwp
	313	LAS VEGAS SKINHEADS	INITIALS:	SKINS		342	NATIONAL ALLIANCE	INITIALS:	COTC
	314	LEGAL (JUSTICE TIMES)	INITIALS:	LEGAL		343	NATIONAL ALLIANCE	INITIALS:	NA
	315	LEGION FOR SURVIVAL OF FREEDOM	INITIALS:	LL		344	NATIONAL ALLIANCE	INITIALS:	SKINS
	316	LEGION OF THE NEW ORDER	INITIALS:	INO		345	NATIONAL ARYAN FRONT	INITIALS:	SKINS
	317	LIBERTY CORPS	INITIALS:	IDENT		346	NATIONAL ARYAN SKIN HEADS	INITIALS:	nash
	318	LIBERTY LOBBY	INITIALS:	LL		347	NATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCH	INITIALS:	IDENT
	319	LIBERTY LOBBY FAT CAT	INITIALS:	LL		348	NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT BOOKSTORE	INITIALS:	SKINS
	320	LIBERTY NET	INITIALS:			349	NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY	INITIALS:	NAZI
	321	LIBERTY TRUST	INITIALS:	POP		350	NATIONAL EDUCATOR	INITIALS:	
	322	LIGHTBEARERS OF JESUS THE CHURCH	INITIALS:	IDENT	•	351	NATIONAL EDUCATOR	INITIALS:	NE
	323	LIGHTHOUSE HEALING MISSION	INITIALS:	IDENT		352	NATIONAL EDUCATOR	INITIALS:	POP
	324	LORDS COVENANT CHURCH	INITIALS:	LCC		353	NATIONAL EURO-AMERICAN SOCIETY	INITIALS:	POP
	325	LOS ANGELES SENTINEL	INITIALS:	REVIS		354	NATIONAL IDENTITY CHURCH	INITIALS:	IDENT
	326	M.A.C. AND COMPANY	INITIALS:	IDENT		355	NATIONAL JUSTICE FOUNDATION	INITIALS:	njf
	327	MALICIOUS OI BOYS	INITIALS:	SKINS		356	NATIONAL KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS:	COTC
	328	MALICIOUS OL' BOYS	INITIALS:	SKINS		357	NATIONAL KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS:	KKK
D	329	MASH	INITIALS:	SKINS		358	NATIONAL MEDIA SERVICES	INITIALS:	POP

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NATIONAL PRAYER NETWORK

NATIONAL SOCIALIST FRONT

NATIONAL SOCIALIST FRONT

NATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE

NATIONAL SOC. WHITE PEOPLES PARTY

INITIALS:

INITIALS: NSWPP

INITIALS: NAZI

INITIALS: SKINS

INITIALS: NAZI

INITIALS:

INITIALS: REVIS

INITIALS: IDENT

INITIALS: SHARP

INITIALS: SHARP

INITIALS: IDENT

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MCALVANY INTELLIGENCE ADVISOR

MINISTRY OF CHRIST CHURCH

MINNEAPOLIS BALDIES

MINNESOTA BALDIES

MISSION TO ISRAEL

MCCALDEN REVISIONIST NFWSLFTTER

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365	NATIONAL SOCIALIST VANGUARD	INITIALS: NSV	393	NORTHWEST KNIGHTS OF KKK	INITIALS:	XXX	
366	NATIONAL SOCIALIST WHITE AMER.PARTY	INITIALS: NSWAP	394	NORTHWEST KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS:	XXX	
367	NATIONAL SOCIALIST YOUTH CORP.	INITIALS: SKINS	395	NORTHWEST SEPARATISTS	INITIALS:	<b>SKI</b> NS	
368	NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS PARTY	INITIALS: NSRP	396	NORTHWEST TERRITORY KNIGHTS KKK	INITIALS:	KKK	
369	NATIONAL VANGUARD	INITIALS: NV	397	NS KINDRED	INITIALS:	NAZI	
10	NATIONAL WHITE AWARENESS LEAGUE	INITIALS: NWAL	398	NSDAP-AO	INITIALS:	NAZI	
<b>.</b> /1	NATIONAL WHITE AWARENESS LEAGUE	INITIALS: SKINS	399	NT.ASSOC.ADVANCEMENT OF WHITE PEOP.	INITIALS:	NAAWP .	
372	NATIONAL WHITE RESISTANCE NETWORK	INITIALS: SKINS	400	NT.ORGANIZATION FOR WHITE AMERICA	INITIALS:	NOMY	
373	NATIONAL YOUTH ALLIANCE /71	INITIALS: NYA	401	NT.SOC. WHITE PEOPLES PARTY/74	INITIALS:	NSWPP	
374	NAVADA COMMITTEE OF THE STATES	INITIALS: COS	402	NT.SOC. WHITE PEOPLES PARTY/74	INITIALS:	NSWWP	
375	NEW ALLIANCE PARTY	INITIALS: NAP	403	NT.SOC.DEPART.OF PRESERVATION	INITIALS:	NSDAP	
376	NEW AMERICAN MAN	INITIALS:	404	OKLAHOMA WHITE KNIGHTS	INITIALS:	KKK	
377	NEW BEGINNINGS	INITIALS: IDENT	405	OMAGA	INITIALS:		
378	NEW CHRISTIAN CRUSADE CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT	406	OPERATION RESCUE (ANTI-ABORTION)	INITIALS:		
379	NEW COVENANT CHRISTIAN CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT	407	ORDER. OF THE BLACK EAGLE	INITIALS:	ARYAN	
380	NEW COVENANT CHURCH	INITIALS: IDENT	408	ORGANIZED ORGANIZER	INITIALS:	ARYAN	
381	NEW DAWN	INITIALS: ODIN	409	OUTCALLED OF GOD	INITIALS:	IDENT	
382	NEW NATIONAL, USA	INITIALS: NNUSA	410	PACE	INITIALS:	PACE	
383	NEW ORDER	INITIALS: NAZI	411	PACE	INITIALS:	WAR	
3,4	NEW ORDER	INITIALS: SKINS	412	PACE AMENDMENT	INITIALS:	SKIN	
.5	NEW ORDER LEGION	INITIALS: NOL	413	PANIC ORGANIZATION	INITIALS:	EIR	
386	NEWS BEGINNINGS	INITIALS:	414	PASADENA GOSPEL TEMPLE	INITIALS:	IDENT	
387	NOONTIDE PRESS	INITIALS: NP	415	PATRIOT DEFENSE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM	INITIALS:	SAP	
388	NOONTIDE PRESS/85	INITIALS: NP	416	PATRIOTIC NETWORK	INITIALS:	SP	

PATRIOTIC PARTY

PATRIOTS OF THE NEW ORDER

PATRIOTS RESEARCH REPORTS

417

418

419

INITIALS:

INITIALS: WAR

INITIALS: CTBT

INITIALS: SKINS

INITIALS: NP

INITIALS: NW

NORTHERN HAMMERSKINS

NORTHERN PRESS

NORTHERN WORLD

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ORGANIZATIONS		ORGANIZATIONS	

420>	PEOPLE CONCERNED ABOUT TODAY'S ED.	INITIALS: POP	448	RADIO FREE AMERICA	INITIALS: LL	
421	PHOENIX JOURNAL EXPRESS	INITIALS:	449	RECONSTITUTED NATIONAL PARTY	INITIALS: APAF	X <b>T</b>
422	PHOENIX LIBERATOR	INITIALS: GREEN	450	REDEEM OUR COUNTRY .	INITIALS: TAX	
423	POLARI PUBLICATIONS	INITIALS: IDENT	451	REICH SKINS	INITIALS: SKIN	.IS
424	POLISH POST EAGLE	INITIALS:	452	REICHSKINS	INITIALS: SKI	is
425	POLONIAN	INITIALS: POLE	453	REMARKS	INITIALS: REVI	[S
426	POPOULIST PARTY/CARTO	INITIALS: POP	454	REMNANT CHURCH	INITIALS: IDEA	ΝT
427	POPULIST ACTION COMMITTEE	INITIALS: POP	455	RENAISSANCE	ÎNITIALS: NAZI	Ľ
428	POPULIST PARTY	INITIALS: NAZI	456	RESTORATION MINISTRIES	INITIALS: IDEA	<b>!T</b>
429	POPULIST PARTY	INITIALS: POP	457	RESTORATION OF BIBLE CHURCH	INITIALS: IDEA	AT.
430	POPULIST PARTY	INITIALS: SKINS	458	ROCKARAMA RECORDS	INITIALS: SKIN	NS
431	POPULIST PARTY/ CARTO	INITIALS: POP	459	ROCKLIN WHITE PRIDE	INITIALS: SKIN	NS
432	POPULIST PARTY/ CARTO	INITIALS: POP	460	S.S.ACTION GROUP	INITIALS: NAZI	I
433	POPULIST PARTY/67	INITIALS: POP	461	SALEM SKINS	INITIALS: SKI	NS
434	POPULIST PARTY/CARTO	INITIALS: POP	462	SAN DIEGO IDENTITY	INITIALS: IDE	NT
435	POPULIST PARTY/CARTO	INITIALS: PP	463	SELF PROCLAIMED INDENTISTS	INITIALS:	
436	POPULIST PARTY/CARTO	INITIALS: PPC	464	SELF-DETERMINATION COMMITTEE	INITIALS: SDC	
437	PORTLAND BIBLE STUDY GROUP	INITIALS: IDENT	465	SHARPSKIN	INITIALS: SHAN	RP
438	POSSE COMITATUS	INITIALS:	466	SHARPSKINS	INITIALS: SHAN	RP
439	POSSE COMITATUS	INITIALS: ARYAN	467	SHEPERD'S CHAPAL INC.	INITIALS: IDE	NT
440	POSSE COMITATUS	INITIALS: POSSE	468	SHOC BOY	INITIALS: SKI	NS
441	POSSE COMITATUS	INITIALS: PS	469	SKINHEAD ALLIANCE	INITIALS: SKI	NS
442	POWAR	INITIALS: SKINS	470	SKINHEAD DOGS	INITIALS: SKI	NS
443	PRO AMERICAN PRESS	INITIALS:	471	SKINHEADS '	INITIALS: SKI	NS
444	PROPHETIC HERALD	INITIALS: ARYAN	472	SKINS & PUNKS AGAINST RACISM	INITIALS: SHAN	RP
445	PUSH	INITIALS: SKINS	473	SOCIALIST NATIONAL FRONT	INITIALS: SKI	NS
446	RACIAL LOYALITY	INITIALS: COTC	474	SOLDIERS OF ISRAEL	INITIALS: ARY	AN
447	RACIAL LOYALTY	INITIALS: COTC	475	SONS OF THE COVENANT	INITIALS:	

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RB RIGHT ORGANIZATIONS

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RB RIGHT ORGANIZATIONS

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476	SOUTH EAST BOOT BOYS	INITIALS: SKINS	504 ,	TAX PROTESTER	INITIALS:
477	SOUTH SIDE PLAYERS	INITIALS: GANG	505	TEUTONIC TIMES	INITIALS: SKINS
478	SOUTHEAST BOOT BOYS	INITIALS: SKINS	506	THE ALARMING CRY	INITIALS:
479	SOUTHERN JUSTICE	INITIALS: SKINS	507	THE ALARHING CRY	INITIALS: APRA
480	SOUTHERN JUSTICE LEAGUE	INITIALS: SKINS	508	THE AMERICAN FIRM	INITIALS: SKINS
481	SOUTHERN WHITE KNIGHTS	INITIALS: KKK	509	THE AMERICAN FREEMAN ASSOCIATION	INITIALS: FREE
482	SPOTLIGHT	INITIALS:	510	THE AMERICAN FRONT	INITIALS: SKINS
483	SPOTLIGHT	INITIALS: POP	511	THE AMERICAN ISRAELITE CRUSADER	INITIALS: IDENT
184	SPOTLIGHT	INITIALS: SL	512	THE ASSEMBLY OF JESUS CHRIST	INITIALS: IDENT
485	SPOTLIGHT	INITIALS: SPOT	513	THE ASSEMBLY OF YAHWEH	INITIALS: IDENT
486	SPOTLIGHT (LETTER TO:8/15/88)	INITIALS: SPOT	514	THE BIBLE EDUCATOR	INITIALS: IDENT
487	SPOTLIGHT (LETTER TO:9/8/88)	INITIALS: SPOT	515	THE BOX PUBLIC ACCESS CYNICS	INITIALS:
488	SPOTLIGHT ( LETTER TO 1/18/88 )	INITIALS: SL	516	THE CHRISTIAN GUARD	INITIALS: IDENT
489	SPOTLIGHT / LETTER TO 2/2/76	INITIALS: SL	517	THE CITIZENS CLAW	INITIALS: CC
490	SPOTLIGHT 2/1/88	INITIALS: SPOT	<b>518</b>	THE COLEMAN REPORT	inițials:
491	SPOTLIGHT 3/7/88	INITIALS: SL	519	THE CONNECTOR	INITIALS:
492	SS ACTION GROUP	INITIALS: NAZI	520	THE FINAL SOLUTION	INITIALS: NAZI
493	SS OF AMERICA	INITIALS: NAZI	521	THE ILLINOIS KNIGHTS OF THE KKK	INITIALS: KKKK
494	SS-ACTION GROUP	INITIALS: NAZI	522	THE JUBILEE	INITIALS:
495	SS-ACTION GROUP	INITIALS: WSU	523	THE JUBILEE	INITIALS: IDENT
496	STONE KINGDOM MINISTRIES	INITIALS: IDENT	524	THE JUBILEE	INITIALS: SKINS
497	STOP IMMIGRATION NOW	INITIALS: SIN	525	THE LAPORTE CHURCH OF CHRIST	INITIALS: IDENT
498	STOP IRS LEVY (JUSTICE TIMES)	INITIALS:	526	THE LEAGUE OF PACE ADVOCATES	INITIALS: PACE
499	STRIKEFORCE	INITIALS: SKINS	527	THE LORD'S WORK, INC.	INITIALS: IDENT
500	STUDENTS FOR AMERICA	INITIALS:	528	THE NEW ORDER	INITIALS: NAZI
501	SURVIVAL	INITIALS: JAP	529	THE NEW PAGANISM	INITIALS: ODIN
502	SURVIVAL IN THE 21ST CENTURY	INITIALS: JAP	530	THE ORDER	INITIALS: ARYAN
503	SWORD OF CHRIST	INITIALS: IDENT ,	531	THE OTHER SIDE	INITIALS: TAX

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INITIALS: AN

					CVOUNTAUTIONS		
532	THE PATRIOT REVIEW	INITIALS:	IDENT	<b>500</b>	WHITE LIBERATION HOVEMENT	INITIALS:	MG EG E
533	THE PURE AMERICAN PARTY	INITIALS:				INITIALS:	
534	THE REGULATORS	INITIALS:	SKINS	589			
535	THE SERVANT	INITIALS:	CSL	590	4	INITIALS:	
536	THE SHEPHERD'S CHAPEL	INITIALS:	IDENT	591		INITIALS:	
537	THE SOUTHERN JUSTICE	INITIALS:	SKINS	592		INITIALS:	
538	THE SPEAKER NEWSLETTER	INITIALS:	IDENT	593		INITIALS:	
539	THE TRANSVAAL SEPARATISTS	INITIALS:	APART	594		INITIALS:	
540	THE UPRIGHT OSTRICH	INITIALS:	TUO	595	v	INITIALS:	
541	THE VIGILANTES	INITIALS:	KKK	596	WHITE STUDENT UNION	INITIALS:	WSU
542	THE WHITE BERET	INITIALS:	KKK	597	WHITE STUDENT UNION (1985-87)	INITIALS:	
543	THE WHITE CHURCH	INITIALS:	IDENT	598	WHITE STUDENT UNION (1985-87)	INITIALS:	STU
544	THE WHITE KNIGHTS IN THE HEARTLAND	INITIALS:	KKK	599	WHITE STUDENT UNION (1985-87)	INITIALS:	WAR
545	THE WHITE PATRIOT	INITIALS:		600	WHITE STUDENT UNION (1985-87)	INITIALS:	WSU
546	THE WHITE WARLORDS	INITIALS:		601	WHITE UNITY	INITIALS:	NAZI
547	THOR'S HAMMER KINDRED	INITIALS:		602	WHITE UNITY PARTY	INITIALS:	aryan
548	THORR'S HAMMER KINDRED, INC.	INITIALS:		603	WHITE WORLD NEWSLETTER	INITIALS:	NAZI
549	TRADITIONAL VALUES COALITION	INITIALS:		604	WHITE YOUTH ALLIANCE	INITIALS:	WYX
550	U.S. NATIONALIST PARTY	INITIALS:		605	WOODBROOK CHAPEL	INITIALS:	
551	U.S. SKINS	INITIALS:		606	WORD OF CHRIST MISSION	INITIALS:	
552	U.S.A. NATIONALIST PARTY	INITIALS:		607	WYOMING KNIGHTS OF THE KXK	INITIALS:	XXX
553	U.S.H.A.	INITIALS:		608	YOUNGBLOOD	INITIALS:	SKINS
554				609	YOUR HERITAGE CHURCH	INITIALS:	IDENT
	UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA	INITIALS:		610	YOUR HERITAGE PROTECTION ASSOC.	INITIALS:	SCIE
555	UNITED SKINS	INITIALS:		611	YOUR MAINE TO OREGON INDEP.INFORMER	INITIALS:	IDENT
556				612	YOUTH FOR HITLER	INITIALS:	SKINS
557	UNITED WHITE WORKING CLASS	INITIALS:					
558	UNITY OF ARYAN WOMEN	INITIALS:	SKINS		•		

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UTAH STATE GUARD

	RB RIGHT ORGANIZATIONS	Page 21		RB SKINS ORGANIZATIONS		Page	1
560	VHS/ BETA VIDEO TAPES	INITIALS: IDENT	1 .		INITIALS:	SKINS	
561	VIKING VIEWPOINT	INITIALS: SKINS	2	AMERICAN FRONT	INITIALS:	SKINS	
562	VIRGINIA CHRISTIAN ISRAELITE	INITIALS: IDENT	3	AMERICAN NAZI PARTY	INITIALS:	SKINS	
563	VOICE OF LIBERTY NEWSLETTER	INITIALS:	4	AMERICAN WHITE SEPARATIST	INITIALS:	SKINS	
564	W.A.S.H.	INITIALS: SKINS	5	ARIZONA WHITE BATTALION	initials:	SKINS	
565	W.A.U./H.G.	INITIALS: SKINS	6	ARYAN WOMAN'S LEAGUE.	INITIALS:	SKINS	
566	WAR SUBSCRIPTION LIST	INITIALS: WAR	7	ARYAN YOUTH MOVEMENT	INITIALS:	SKINS	
567	WARSKINS	INITIALS: SKIN	8	BURBANK PUNK ORGANIZATION	INITIALS:	SKINS	
568	WARSKINS	INITIALS: SKINS	9	CASH/ ROMANTIC VIOLENCE	INITIALS:	SKINS	
569	WARSKINS, SAN DIEGO UNIT	INITIALS: SKINS	10	CHICAGO WHITE VIKINS	INITIALS:	skins	
570	WESTERN GUARD	INITIALS: KKK	11	CHRISTIAN IDENTITY SKINHEAD	INITIALS:	SKINS	
571	WESTERN HAMMERSKINS	INITIALS: SKINS	12	EAST SIDE WHITE PRIDE	INITIALS:	SKINS	
572	WHITE AMERICAN POLITICAL ASSOC.	INITIALS: WAPA	13	HAMMER SKINS	INITIALS:	SKINS	
573	WHITE AMERICAN REISTANCE	INITIALS: SKINS	14	HEARTLAND WAR DIRECTOR	INITIALS:	SKINS	
574	WHITE AMERICAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS:	15	LAS VEGAS SKINHEADS	INITIALS:	SKINS	
575	WHITE AMERICAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: SKIN	16	NATIONAL WHITE RESISTANCE NETWORK	INITIALS:	SKINS	
576	WHITE AMERICAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: SKINS	17	PACE AMENDMENT	INITIALS:	SKINS	
577	WHITE AMERICAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: WAR	18	POWAR	INITIALS:	SKINS	
578	WHITE ARYAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: SKIN	19	PUSH	INITIALS:	SKINS	
579	WHITE ARYAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: SKINS	20	REICHSKINS	INITIALS:	SKINS	
580	WHITE ARYAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: WAR	21.	ROCKLIN WHITE PRIDE	INITIALS:	SKINS	
581	WHITE ARYAN RESISTENCE	INITIALS: SKINS	22	SALEM SKINS	INITIALS:	SKINS	
582	WHITE ARYAN RESISTENCE	INITIALS: WAR	23	SKINHEAD DOGS	INITIALS:	SKINS	
583	WHITE AWARENESS	INITIALS: SKINS	24	SKINHEADS	INITIALS:	SKINS	
584	WHITE AYRAN RESISTANCE	INITIALS: WAR	25	SKINS & PUNKS AGAINST RACISM	INITIALS:	SHARP	

INITIALS: KKK

INITIALS: SKINS

INITIALS: KKKK

INITIALS: SKINS

INITIALS: SKINS

SOCIALIST NATIONAL FRONT

STRIKEFORCE

26

27

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586

587

WHITE CHRISTIAN WOMEN

WHITE KNIGHTS OF THE KKK

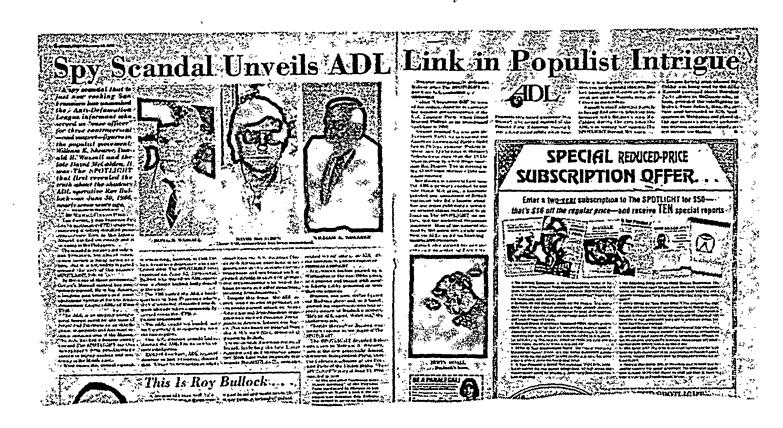
WHITE CAMELIA KNIGHTS OF THE KKK

## Facts About the ADES Committed History

There is actually a great wealth of factual historical information about the sordid history of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of Brazi Barth A primary source for virtually all of the major published documentation about the ADEs history as Liberty Bribrary the book selling division of BBERTY LOBBY, the populish Institution that first exposed the ADEs national spy metwork. What follows is a list of informative publications about the ADE which are available from Liberty Library.

- Conspiracy Against Freedom, 227 pages, indexed, outlining the ADL's drive to silence free speech in this country, \$12:95 paperback or \$15:95 hardback
- Schwartz.conducted by attorney Mark Cane \$15 per copy
- Mic Welve Invite About the ADL by the staff of Executive Intelligence Review examining the ADL slong time and intimate ties to the Meyer Lansky organized crime syndicate, \$8.
- Extracopies of *The Garbage Man—The Strange World of Row Edward*Bullock are also available at \$15 per copy:

Independence Avenue, SE, Washington, DEC 20008



On February 15, 1993 The SPOTLIGHT published the expose (shown above) which detailed the collaboration of Ford City, Pennsylvania-based attorney Don Wassall with agents of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith. For more on the strange activities of the ADL and its effort to sabotage the populist movement, see the documents that appear inside this special report.

FD-36 (Rev. 11-17-88)  PATE: 03-27-2013 CLASSIFIED BY NSICG/C98W57B22 FBI  FBI  DECLASSIFY ON: 03-27-2038	
TRANSMIT VIA:  Teletype  Immediate  Facsimile  AIRTEL  PRECEDENCE:  Immediate  Priority  Routine  CLASSIFICATION:  TOP SECRET  SEGRET  CONFIDENTIAL  UTCLAS E F T O  UNCLAS  Date 7/20/93	1
TO (II): ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (ATTN: SSA CI-2E) (S) FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (P) (CRA-2) (S) SUBJECT:	
Oo: SAN FRANCISCO    SECURIOR SUNCLASSIFIED	<b>&amp;</b>
The enclosed document was published by the "Liberty Lobby" organization of Washington, D.C. This is a  3 - Bureau (Enc. 3)  (2 - CI-2E)  (1 - Office of Congressional and Public Affairs)  4 - Los Angeles (Enc. 2) (INFO)  (2 - 65X-LA-153918)  2 - San Diego (Enc. 2) (INFO)  2 - WMFO (Enc. 2) (INFO)  5 - San Francisco	
(1 - 264B-SF-100978)  JAM/jam  SECRET	

Approved: Transmitted Per (Time) (Number)

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right wing organization with a long history of enmity toward the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Based on information available, San Francisco believes members of the Liberty Lobby are responsible for the majority of letters received by members of the U.S. Congress regarding this matter, which have resulted in letters of inquiry to the FBI. San Francisco assumes that publication of the enclosed, which consists largely of photocopies of FBI and San Francisco Police Department documents, will cause the generation of still more letters to Congress, with resulting further inquiries to the FBI. The enclosed is therefore being provided to the Bureau, and to other receiving offices based on mention in the enclosed of persons or events within receiving offices' territories.

Recipients should note that the FD-302s which are reproduced in the enclosed were obtained by Liberty Lobby through the office of the San Francisco District Attorney. The FD-302s were originally shared by San Francisco with the San Francisco Police Department, inasmuch as they contain information relevant to SFPD's criminal investigation regarding the subject of this matter and co-conspirator, former SFPD Inspector The SFPD subsequently utilized the FD-302s to support search warrant affidavits, which the San Francisco District Attorney's Office made public following execution of the warrants.

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SECRET(U)

SECRET

August 9, 1979

Hon. Benjamin Navon Consul General State of Israel 6380 Wilshire Blvd. Suite 1700 Los Angeles, CA 90048



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Dear Consul Navon:

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

As I mentioned during our telephone conversation yesterday, my San Francisco office has come into possession of information with regard to a young Palestinian male planning to return to Israel and maintain contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

According to the information	we have received, the young
man, approximately	old, is planning to
"return to Palestine" after	having emigrated from the
West Bank prior to 1967. He	and his family are planning
to leave the San Francisco a	rea about August 15, 1979.
	He lives at
San Francisco, California 94	

According to further information we have received, the young man made contact with the PIO on a visit to Kuwait last year.

I trust you will relay this information to responsible authorities in Israel to double check whether there is any truth to the story we have heard.

Cordially,

OECLASSIFIED BY SAIZ BISUM ON 12-9-94
DAVID A. LEHRER Western States Counsel
15×19153918-45

DAL/dg

BCC: Irwin Suall

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3-4

July 30, 1979	. \		
To: Dave Lehre	* SEORE	- 10	; ;
From:		<u> </u>	ь6 ь7с
	·= = ,	_	•
While I was sitting Palestine Cultural old) came up to me orientation. I experientely or people who were at apolitical bourged and left. About of talking again. He palestine." He experientely or people who were at apolitical bourged and left. About of talking again. He palestine." He experientely again they was actual legal proceed told me.) He and about August 15, I in Kuwait last year stated that when he	L Day a young Parand started ask eplained that we riented toward the tending Palestin ois-types. He the told me that he eplained that the rigrated here after before they ated to do—so——(adure required; his family are—in 1979. Furthermore are and had made of the second	lestinian male (ing about COPME were not Marxist le left. He comple Cultural Day were signed COPME er he came back, and his family by had lived on the left, they would He-wasn't too clim simply tellintending to leave, he told me the contacts with the	about years and our politics , but that we lained that the ere mostly s mailing list, and we started were "moving to he West Bank cause they be allowed to ear on the ng you what he e San Francisco hat he had been PLO there. He
Bank he would memovement and work		the Palestinian	resistance
The name of this	.`	<u> </u>	. sr 9411
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	* 4444	San Flancisco Chec TAB	, Bay	A' de
TO:	Irwin Suall	aue TRAB TETIVITY Cond// fold	1,	Boy
FROM:	<u>,</u>	ref cound to be	<u>.</u>	b6
DATE:	June 18, 1986	made activity	-	
SUBJECT:	Arab Activity in S	an Francisco Bay F	Area (	* · · · *
Police De up meetin individua	y, June 13, Sergeant partment telephoned g to discuss the acula in the Bay Area. Prandum to	cur offices and r tivities of specif <u>(Our e</u> arlier mee	requested an u fic Arab organ	izations an is deta.
discussio	rived carrying a mu ons which lasted mor significant amount	e than two hours a		
experience and detail Attacked	ned in this meeting e in these matters led exchange of inf you will find his s Additionally, the	provided the necestormation. Our fricty ynopsis of informations	ssary catalyst end's presence ation gleaned	for a thor was invalufrom our di
two	mentioned that the Arabic-speaking infers of all Arabic-spe	he Department has ormants who will p aking activists in	provide to the	police the
and "Dir	California head of Daly City, CA., presumed to be origon-Debwan." This vil	94014. He is apprinally from a vil	lage in Israel	
DFLE	maintains there Francisco and San D activists occurs f this memorandum are	requently. The	ween the two o Arabic-languag	cities by ge attachme:
a wo	ollow-up call from man of Syrian desce	ent working for	oncerning spec rkeley, CA.	culation ov clarified
	feels that local ied to the November ACLU as disruptive	29th Coalition.	genera	s closely lly regards ork he focu

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Arab Activity - continued Page #2



	posited the following theory for our consideration: The book book book book book book book boo
	start-up costs for opening a licensed travel agency are only
	\$1500, which then fronts such an establishment one million.
	dollars worth of travel credit. It is thus conceivable that
	Arab activists could be opening travel agencies as scam operations
	wherein their individual travel records would not be traceable.
·*-1	
	On June 26th and 27th, in Los Angeles and San Francisco respective
	the U.S. Justice Department is sponsoring seminars for sworn
	officers only on the subject of Arab terrorism.   may be
	able to arrange for the distribution of ADL business cards to
	the attendees at these seminars.

I trust this information will be useful to you.

SH, ( Incl	<u>:·</u>	•		_	-
c:	Justin Finger				
			David Lehre	er	

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MAL BOARD SERMAN Chairman, Executive Comm CLAUDE STERN Vice-Chairman, Executive Commi Vice-Presidents
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GAIL CUCCI
MORTON FRIEDMAN
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SUSAN LEVITIN
WILLIAM LOWENBERG
DR. MAURICE MANN
STEVE MERKSAMER
MARIAN SAXE MILLER EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE STEVE MERKSAMER MARIAN SAXE MILLER STEPHEN MILLER \*RAQUEL NEWMAN \*CARL PEARLSTEIN \*ERNEST POSTURE! ERNEST ROSENTHAL JEFFREY SAPER MARIORIE SIMON NEIL SMITH EUGENE SOSNICK MELVIN M. SWIG LEW TILIN LAWRENCE WANETICK M.D. NATIONAL COMMISSION BURTON S. LEVINSON Honorary Chairmen Chairman, National RONALD B. 508EL Associate National Director Assistant Director AMY L. SCHOENBLUM

KENNETH I, BIALKIN SEYMOUR GRAUBARD MAXWELL E, GREENBERG BURTON M. JOSEPH

\*National Commissioners National Director -ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN

Regional Director RICHARD S. HIRSCHHAUT

Director of Development ALAN L. WENDROFF Assistant Director-Developmen GLORIA L. DULGOV

Western States Coursel BETSY R. ROSENTHAL Western Education Director MARIORIE M. GREEN

Western States Director HARVEY 8, SCHECHTER

Western States Development Director HAROLD N. SAMUELS

Anti-De Ination League ✓ of B'nai B'rith

March 24, 1989.

Central Pacific Regional Office 121 Steuart Street, Suite 401 San Francisco, CA 94105-1206 (415) 546-0200 FAX: (415) 546-1934

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b7C

Richard D. Walker Chief of Police Portland Police Department 1111 SW Second Avenue Portland, OR 97204

Dear Dick:

and myself, we want to thank you On behalf of again for your enthusiastic participation in the Law Enforcement Mission to Israel earlier this month.

From our vantage point, the trip was more than simply an opportunity to exchange ideas and practical information -the face-to-face interaction among American and Israeli law enforcement officials signalled what hopefully will be an ongoing dialogue among colleagues and friends.

In an effort to facilitate regular communication between the police departments and the Israeli Ministry of Police, I wish to offer the San Francisco ADL office as a repository for information from your agency which can then be forwarded directly to Director-General Aviner in Jerusalem.

To this end, I would appreciate your favoring me with copies of departmental newsletters, brochures, and other literature which you believe might be of value to your counterparts in Israel. I will also look toward sharing with each of you materials from the Israeli police officials as well. This exchange could be a useful legacy to our recent mission.

We hope you have each settled back into your duties with relatively little jet lag. Please know again what a delight it was for us to experience Israel with you firsthand.

Sincerely, Richard S. Hirschhaut

RSH:skl cc:

Regional Director

bcc:

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... an education/media project for intergroup understanding and America's democratic ideals

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FBI **CLASSIFICATION:** PRECEDENCE:

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<b>5</b>		Date 7/1/93	
TO : D	IRECTOR, FBI (ATTN: SSA  AC, SAN FRANCISCO (65X	,_CI-2E)	b6 b7C
FROM : S	AC, SAN FRANCISCO (65X	(-LA-153918) (P) (CR	A-21 67E
Li Li Ei O	O: LOS ANGELES HA	SION OF BUREAU CLASS L THE REATION CONTAINED LATER SHOWN THERWISE	IFIED
(U) (U)	his entire communicati	on is classified "S	ecret.(")
copies each	nclosed for the Bureau of the following docum . Letter, dated 8/9/7 D A. LEHRER (current h	nents: 79, from ADL Western	States
office) to Los Angeles.	Consul	General, Israeli Co	nsulate,
(current hea	. Memo, dated 6/18/86 d of the San Francisco g Director, ADL Headqu	ADL office) to IRW	IRSCHHAUT IN SUALL
3 - San Fran	les (Enc. 6)		G-3 OADR
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CLASSIFIED BY: 273 PLEASON: 1.5 C DECLASSIFY ON: X_	10°	SEARCHEON SEARCH	-LA-153918-10
Approved:	Transmitted (N	(II) Per	11114 / 1003
DECISIONS FINALIZED MENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (	÷.	المنتسب المستحد	FBI-LOS ANGELES

#### SECRET

3. Letter, dated 3/24/89, from RICHARD S. HIRSCHHAUT to RICHARD D. WALKER, Chief of Police, Portland, Oregon, Police Department.

The enclosed items were provided to San Francisco by the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD), which recovered them during execution of search warrants at the Los Angeles and San Francisco ADL offices earlier in 1993. They were provided for whatever use the FBI deems appropriate.

Copies are being provided to Los Angeles inasmuch

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as they indicate that: 1) Former SFPD Inspector
was a significant source of law enforcement material
for the ADL, and 2) the ADL has served for at least a number
of years as a conduit for intelligence information on U.S.
persons and others for the Israeli Government. The latter
point was made by former ADL Fact Finderduring
San Francisco's interview of him in March, 1993 (a copy of the
FD-302 of which was previously provided to Los Angeles); the
enclosed letters appear to provide confirmation of
statement.
With regard to the enclosed 8/9/79 letter, the
"young Palestinian male," who is discussed
therein, is noted in San Francisco indices in 105-29969 - 3
a U.S. Permanent Resident Alien with INS number
He is the son of the subject of the file,
DPOB a Permanent Resident
Alien with TWS number On 10/26/72 the SFPD advised
San Francisco that and his brother
operators of a small san Francisco grocery
store, might be sending money to the Middle East to support
"Arab guerrillas in Palestine." Investigation by San
Francisco found no information to support this and the file
was closed on 5/31/73.
Any additional pertinenet information found by San
. Will addictional percinener information found by San

Any additional pertinenet information found by San Francisco regarding captioned matter will be forwarded to Los Angeles.

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all li	INTERVIEW DAVID	LEHRER, R	EGIONAL DIR	ECTOR, ADL-	LOS ANGELES	,	
OMM	$\mathcal{I}_{ t CONCERNING}$ LEHR	ER'S KNOWL	EDGE OF HOW	THE ADL CA	ME INTO		
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	FOX DATE & TIME	OF ACCEPTAN	CE: 4-2	2-9B 2	329 180	2	

### ^PAGE 2 65X-LA-153918 S E C R E T (U)

FOR INFORMATION OF FBIHQ, INVESTIGATION WAS PREDICATED ON INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM FBI-SAN FRANCISCO THAT A DOCUMENT RESEMBLING A BUREAU LHM WAS FOUND DURING A SEARCH OF ADL OFFICES IN SAN FRANCISCO. SAN FRANCISCO POLICE (SFPD) AND THE

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(0)	BUREAU JOINTLY CONDUCTED THE SEARCH BASED
(S)	
<del>(S)</del> [	MANY DOCUMENTS SURFACED DURING THE SEARCH, ONE OF
L	WHICH WAS A DOCUMENT PERTAINING TO THE NATION OF ISLAM.
	BECAUSE A SAN EDANCISCO INTEDVITEM OF A FORMER ADI. EMPLOYEE

BECAUSE A SAN FRANCISCO INTERVIEW OF A FORMER ADL EMPLOYEE
INDICATED THAT THE NOI DOCUMENT ORIGINATED IN LOS ANGELES, SAN
FRANCISCO ASKED LOS ANGELES TO DETERMINE IF THE DOCUMENT'
ORIGINATED IN A LOS ANGELES FILE.

A REVIEW DETERMINED THAT THE DOCUMENT WAS ACTUALLY A FOLLOWING THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF

THE LHM WAS DISSEMINATED VIA COVER AIRTEL TO THE BUREAU,
ALEXANDRIA, DALLAS, LOS ANGELES, NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA,
PHOENIX AND CHICAGO. CONTAINED WITHIN THE LHM WAS SOURCE

^PAGE 3 65X-LA-153918 S E C R E T REPORTING THAT INDICATED THAT THE LEADER OF NOI, LOUIS FARRAKHAN, WAS IN CONTACT WITH MOAMMAR QADHAFI, FOR THE PURPOSE OF SOLICITING FUNDS FOR NOI. THE LHM, WHILE NOT SPECIFICALLY CLASSIFIED, WAS LOCATED IN A CLASSIFIED FILE. PREVIOUS VERSIONS OF THE LHM WERE DISSEMINATED AS ATTACHMENTS TO A SECREW AIRTEL, SENT UNDER CHICAGO FILE 199G-1076 CLASSIFICATION LEVEL OF THE ATTACHMENTS WAS NOT INDICATED. IN EARL. 1989 FORMER ADL EMPLOYEE RECALLED SEEING A COPY OF THE LHM IN THE FILES OF THE ADL IN LOS ANGELES. ATTACHED TO THE COPY OF THE LHM WAS A COVER MEMO FROM ADL EMPLOYEE WHO HAD RECEIVED THE DOCUMENT. THE COVER MEMO WAS DATED SOMETIME IN 1988, AND NOTED THAT THE ADL HAD RECEIVED THE LHM FROM "AN OFFICIAL FRIEND" AND THAT IT SHOULD BE TREATED CONFIDENTIALLY.

FBI SAN FRANCISCO SET FORTH A LEAD TO FBINY TO CONTACT
THE ADL IN NEW YORK CITY, TO DETERMINE IF ANY BUREAU DOCUMENTS
WERE HELD AT THAT LOCATION. THE HEAD OF INVESTIGATIONS FOR
ADL WAS ASKED IF THEY HAD A COPY OF THE NOI DOCUMENT. THEY
DID, AND INDICATED THAT THE DOCUMENT THEY HELD ORIGINATED IN
LOS ANGELES, AND THAT COPIES WERE MADE AND DISSEMINATED

^PAGE 4 65X-LA-153918 S E C R E T (U) NATIONALLY. THE ADL PROVIDED THEIR COPY OF THE NOI LHM TO FBI SAN FRANCISCO, WHICH PRESENTED THE LHM TO FBI LOS ANGELES. PRIOR TO GIVING THE DOCUMENT TO LOS ANGELES, SAN FRANCISCO THE DOCUMENT AND ASKED HIM IF IT WAS THE SAME SHOWED AS THAT WHICH HE HAD SEEN BACK IN 1989. HE SAID IT WAS SIMILAR IN THAT THE "T" SYMBOLS ON THE DOCUMENT HAD BEEN INKED OUT. HOWEVER THE COPY HE HAD SEEN WAS, HE BELIEVED, AN ORIGINAL COPY IN THAT HE COULD READ THE "T" SYMBOLS THROUGH THE INK BY HOLDING THE DOCUMENT UP TO THE LIGHT. WAS NOT PRODUCTIVE, AN INTERVIEW OF ADVISED THAT DAVID LEHRER, AS ADL REGIONAL HOWEVER DIRECTOR, MIGHT KNOW WHO PROVIDED THE DOCUMENT TO THE ADL. AND LEHRER WERE LOS ANGELES INDICES FOR NEGATIVE, SAVE FOR SEVERAL CONTACTS WITH LOS ANGELES INVITING PAST SAC'S TO PARTICIPATE IN ADL BRIEFINGS AND FUNCTIONS. THE LOS ANGELES COPY OF CHICAGO FILE 100A-57011 WAS REVIEWED, AND IT WAS NOTED THAT THREE MEMBERS OF THE FBI-LAPD TERRORISM TASK FORCE HAD SIGNED FD-159'S ACKNOWLEDGING RECEIPT OF THE NOI LHM. THESE INDIVIDUALS WERE SGT LOS



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	ANGELES SHERIFFS DEPARTMENT; DETECTIVE AND
	DETECTIVE BOTH OF THE LAPD.
	CONCURRENT WITH SAN FRANCISCO'S INVESTIGATION OF THE
S)	TO THE SFPD AND THE ADL A SPATE OF
	NEWSPAPER ARTICLES AND MAGAZINE ARTICLES HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED,
	AND HUNDREDS OF LETTERS TO CONGRESSMAN AND SENATORS HAVE BEEN
	SENT BY ANGRY CONSTITUENTS CONCERNING THE ADL AND PERCEIVED
	INVASIONS OF PRIVACY. IN RESPONSE TO THESE ARTICLES BOTH
	LEHRER AND OTHER ADL SPOKES PERSONS HAVE EXPRESSED A TOWNSWORD
	WILLINGNESS TO FULLY COOPERATE WITH ANY INVESTIGATION OF THE
	ADL CONCERNING THE EVENTS ORIGINATING IN SAN FRANCISCO.

IN FURTHERANCE OF ITS INVESTIGATION, LOS ANGELES HAS

WITH THE CASE AGENT, FSI-3 SUPERVISOR, AND LOS ANGELES FCI

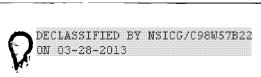
ASAC IT WAS DETERMINED THAT AT THIS TIME THE BEST COURSE OF
ACTION WOULD BE FOR THE ASAC TO PERSONALLY INTERVIEW LEHRER,
BECAUSE OF THE POLITICAL SENSITIVES OF THIS INVESTIGATION.
ACCORDINGLY, LOS ANGELES IS REQUESTING FBIHQ AUTHORITY TO
INTERVIEW LEHRER.

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TRANSMIT VIA:	AIRTEL	_	
CLASSIFICATION	N: <u>secre</u> t	DATE:	9/23/93
FROM: Direc	tor, FBI	j	
TO: SAC,	Los Angeles		
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Date: 10/22/93

Title: Civil Rights Groups Sue ADL, Ask for Injunction

Character:

Classification: Submitting Office:

Indexing:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-2-94 BY Spid 1815 Gry

# Civil Rights Groups Sue ADL.

Court: Plaintiffs say that law enforcement authorities allowed confidential files to be given to the Jewish anti-extremism organization.

By KENNETH REICH and RICHARD C. PADDOCK TIMES STAFF WRITERS

An array of civil rights organizations filed a federal lawsuit Thursday against the Anti-Defamation League and law enforcement authorities in Los Angeles, San Francisco and San Diego, asking for an injunction against spying and damages for alleged privacy violations.

Groups representing Arab-Americans and African-Americans led the effort, along with other organizations. Joining in the suit were former Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally, former Los Angeles City Councilman Robert Farrell and others who said their names turned up in files obtained by ADL operatives from police agencies.

The lawsuit, while months in preparation, was filed at a time

when ADL critics have doubts that a lengthy investigation by San Francisco Dist. Atty. Arlo Smith of alleged ADL spying will lead to charges against the Jewish civil rights and anti-extremism organization.

Smith has been attempting to negotiate an agreement with the ADL that would require the group to halt its intelligence-gathering activities in California in exchange for lenient treatment.

Three resociations have ordceeded slowly, said one source close to the investigation, and the district attorney's office has made plans to take the case before a San Francisco grand jury next month.

In recent days, however, negotiations to resolve the case without prosecution have resumed, the source said. As part of a negotiated settlement, prosecutors want the Anti-Defamation League to pay a

fine and promise that it will not engage in improper spying in California, he said.

However, prosecutors refuse to go along with the Anti-Defamation League request for the return of documents seized earlier this year, which include illegally obtained police information such as mug photos and rap sheets.

"Talks have started up again," said the source close to the investi-

The ADL has continued to maintain that it did nothing improper in what it calls its fact-finding oper-

'Despite the transparent objectives of those bringing this suit, ADL will not be deterred from its mandate to counter extremism in defense of American-democracy," the ADL said Thursday, responding to the latest suit. "We will continue to champion the civil rights of all Americans, even those who have brought this suit."

In the meantime, the plaintiffs in an earlier lawsuit over alleged ADL spying suffered a blow earlier

> that had some protection under the out to turn of the source said much of the source said much of the source said much of the source said the state "shield law" that allows jour halists to guard the identity of their -uismar anolus anomar of ramod ources.

ine significance of the decisionis disputed, however, and how it applies to the federal suit filed Thursday is unclear. The judge extended journalistic shield privileges to the ADL, which says it exists to fight extremism. However, the judge said the protection extends only to the group's journalistic activities and not necessarily to all documents.

Plaintiffs in the new lawsuit include the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, the Na tional Conference of Black Lawvers, the Bay Area Anti-Apartheid Network, the American Indian Movement, the National Lawyers Guild, the Coalition Against Police Abuse and the Committee in Soli-Further allegations about the

the source said. money Chima had lent the temple, The board then refused to return the temple's executive committee. defeated in his bid to be elected to in 1989, the source said. Chima was ers and helped to buy the building one of the temple's original foundthe dissident group. He also was this month. A San Francisco judg to szepeel equ to euo si pies eu oum Lakhbir S. Chima of Northridge, juedso us san Tdy att pepper zation with journalistic purpos application us sagues andsip

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

### **ADL** to Avoid **Prosecution** in Spying Case

By RÎCHĂRD C. PADDOCK

San Francisco—af ter a yearlong investigation into charges that the Anti-Defamation League built a national intelligence network through illegal spying, Dist. Atty. Arlo Smith agreed Monday not to prosecute the organization in exchange for its payment of up to \$75,000 to fight hate crimes.

The prominent Jewish civil rights group, which had denied allegations of illegally receiving confi-Please see ADL, A32

## ADL: Settle

Continued from A1 dential data from police sources, also pledged not to engage in improper information gathering

activities in California.

The settlement represents a significant victory for the Anti-Defamation League, which had become caught up in an embarrassing case that highlighted its extensive intelligence operation and its infilatration of political and ethnic

Under the settlement, the group will not regain possession of documents that contain privileged police information on about 1,400 groups and individuals. The materials had been seized from the group by San Francisco authorities during the investigation.

The Anti-Defamation League, which has long denied any wrongdoing, praised the agreement and said it would further the group's goal of combatting bigotry.

"The agreement we have reached confirms our consistent position that ADL has engaged in no misconduct of any kind," said national Chairman Melvin Salberg and national Director Abraham H. Foxman in a joint statement issued by their New York office.

However, individuals who had been targeted by the Anti-Defamation League accused the district attorney of caving in to political pressure and letting the group off too lightly. Often, ADL critics have said, people were spied upon simply because they took public posi-

tions at odds with the government of Israel.

"This demonstrates once again the enormous political clout of the Israeli lobby in America," said, former Republican Rep. Pete Mc-Closkey, who was a target of ADL information-gathering and has filed one of two civil suits pending against the group. "It's an unusual result for what appeared to be an ironclad case. One wonders whether all defendants are treated the same under the law."

The settlement came as a San Francisco County grand jury was about to call Anti-Defamation League employees to testify in a criminal investigation spearheaded

by prosecutor Smith.

C mith, who initially said he would follow the investigation wherever it led, could not be reached for comment.

But a source close to the probe said prosecutors were hampered by a recent civil court ruling that the Anti-Defamation League had certain legal protections as a journalistic organization because it publishes reports among its many functions.

The prosecution's case also was jeopardized by a contention that FBI wiretaps of key figures were not conducted legally, the source said.

The intelligence gathering activities of the Anti-Defamation League came to light last year when the FBI stumbled onto the fact that Roy Bullock, an ADL operative, and San Francisco Police Officer Tom Gerard, a former employee of the CIA, were selling

TIMES (Indicate page, name of LA newspaper, city and state.)

Date: 1/ /16/93 Edition:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-2-91 BY SPIN BDOWN

Character:

or Classification: Submitting Office:

Indexing:

information to the South African

government.

After questioning by the FBI, Gerard fled to the Philippines. leaving behind a briefcase filled with false IDs and information about death squads in Central America, where he was once stationed. He later returned to the United States and was arrested in San Francisco, where he is the only one facing charges in the case.

Voluminous documents released by prosecutors last spring revealed that over decades, Bullock, a San Francisco art dealer, had gathered information on nearly 10,000 individuals and more than 950 groups, spanning the spectrum from the Ku Klux Klan to the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

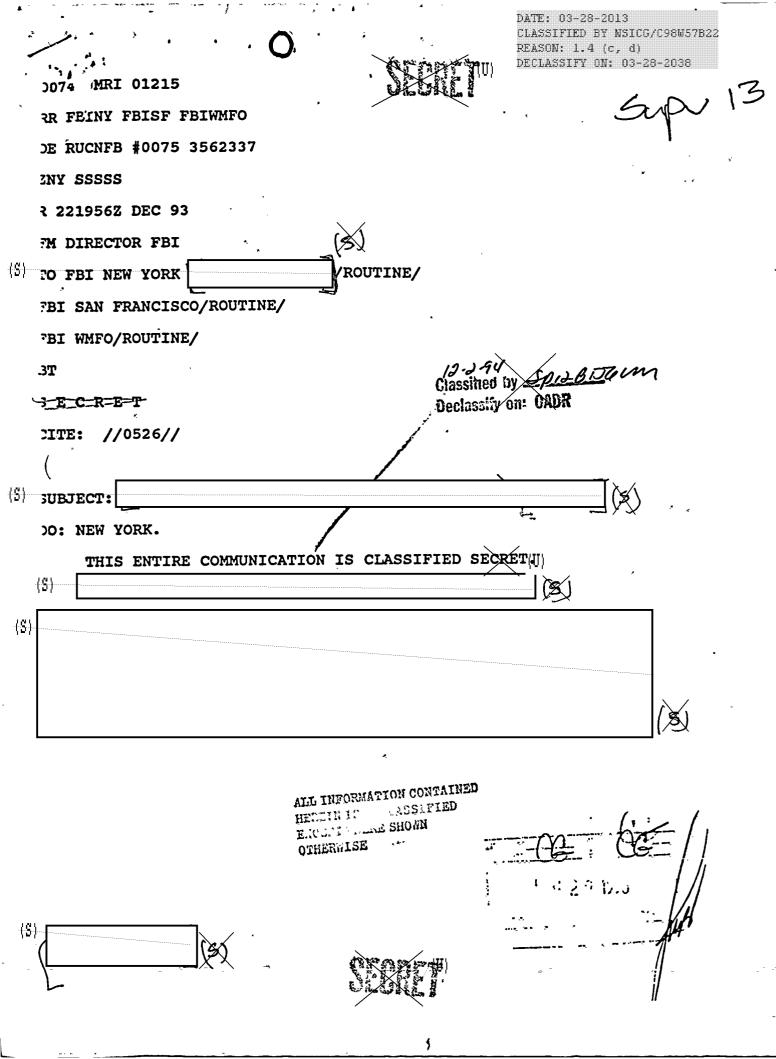
Bullock's techniques included infiltrating groups, sorting through trash of target groups and trading information with police agencies up and down the West Coast.

Bullock admitted joining with Gerard to sell information to the South African government on people such as House Armed Services Committee Chairman Ron Dellums (D-Berkeley), receiving \$16,000 in cash over a four-year period.

Under the settlement, no charges will be brought against Bullock. whom Anti-Defamation League officials have praised as "damn good."

Under the agreement, the Anti-Defamation League will pay up to \$50,000 in reward money to solve hate crimes and as much as \$25,000 more to train Smith's prosecutors how to teach schoolchildren about the evils of bigotry.





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#### SECRET(U)

For the further information of Los Angeles, it has been communicated to San Francisco from FBIHQ that San Francisco should cease to pursue its investigations, with which Los Angeles is familiar, regarding ADL employee and former San Francisco Police Department officer

San Francisco will thus no longer be in a position to obtain information of value regarding captioned matter, and so is placing it in an RUC status.

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DATE: 03-28-2013 CLASSIFIED BY MSICG/C98W57B22 REASON: 1.4 (c) DECLASSIFY ON: 03-28-2038

U.S. Department of Justice



File No.

In Reply, Please Refer to

Federal Bureau of Investigation

11000 Wilshire Boulevard #1700 Los Angeles, CA 90024

March 11, 1994

UNSUBS; UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS AT THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL) IN POSSESSION OF BUREAU SENSITIVE INFORMATION

This entire communication is classified "SECRET"

OFFICE OF ORIGIN: Los Angeles

DATE INVESTIGATION SUMMARY PREPARED:

BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION:

For information of FBIHQ, investigation was predicated on information received from FBI-San Francisco that a document resembling a Bureau LHM was found during a search of ADL offices in San Francisco. San Francisco Police (SFPD) and the Bureau jointly conducted the search

Many documents surfaced during the search, one of which was a document pertaining to the Nation of Islam. Because a San Francisco interview of a former ADL employee indicated that the NOI document originated in Los Angeles, San Francisco asked Los Angeles to determine if the document originated in a Los Angeles file.

INVESTIGATION TO DATE:

A review determined that the document was actually a FBI Chicago generated LHM, dated January 14, 1988, from Chicago file 100A-57011, titled the Nation of Islam (NOI); Domestic Terrorism-NOI; OO: Chicago.

SETTED BY 9933 DECL ON OADRI

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the propert your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

The LHM was disseminated via cover airtel to the Bureau, Alexandria, Dallas, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, Phoenix and Chicago. Contained within the LHM was source reporting that indicated that the leader of NOI, LOUIS FARRAKHAN, was in contact with MOAMMAR QADHAFI, for the purpose of soliciting funds for NOI. The LHM, while not specifically classified, was located in a classified file. Previous versions of the LHM were disseminated as attachments to a secret airtel, sent under Chicago file 199G-1076. The classification level of the attachments was not indicated. In early 1993, former ADL employee recalled seeing (OIRCA 3/89) a copy of the LHM in the files of the ADL in Los Angeles. Attached to the copy of the LHM was a cover memo from ADL employee | who had received the document. The cover memo was dated sometime in 1988, and noted that the ADL had received the LHM from "an official friend" and that it should be treated confidentially. FBI San Francisco set forth a lead to FBINY to contact the ADL in New York City, to determine if any Bureau documents were held at that location. The head of investigations for ADL was asked if they had a copy of the NOI document. They did, and indicated that the document they held originated in Los Angeles, and that copies were made and disseminated nationally. The ADL provided their copy of the NOI LHM to FBI San Francisco, which presented the LHM to FBI Los Angeles. Prior to giving the document to Los Angeles, San Francisco showed \_\_\_\_\_ the document and asked hif it was the same as that which he had seen back in 1989. He the document and asked him said it was similar in that the "t" symbols on the document had been inked out. However the copy he had seen was, he believed, an original copy in that he could read the "t" symbols through the ink by holding the document up to the light.

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An interview of was not productive, however advised that DAVID LEHRER, as ADL regional director, might know who provided the document to the ADL.

Los Angeles indices for and LEHRER were negative, save for several contacts with Los Angeles inviting past SAC's to participate in ADL briefings and functions.



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The Los Angeles copy of Chicago file 100A-57011 was reviewed, and it was noted that three members of the FBI-LAPD terrorism task force had signed FD-159's acknowledging receipt of the NOI LHM. These individuals were Sqt Los Angeles Sheriffs Department; Detective and Detective both of the LAPD.

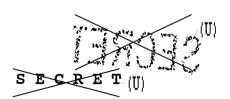
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Concurrent with San Francisco's investigation of the South African connection to the SFPD and the ADL, a spate of newspaper articles and magazine articles have been published, and hundreds of letters to congressman and senators have been sent by angry constituents concerning the ADL and perceived invasions of privacy. In response to these articles both LEHRER and other ADL spokespersons have expressed awillingness to fully cooperate with any investigation of the ADL concerning the events originating in San Francisco.

#### **OBJECTIVE:**

An interview of ADL Official DAVID LEHRER is pending for further information concerning this matter. If he is unable to provide further information, consideration will be given to closing this investigation.



FBI

DATE: 03-28-2013

CLASSIFIED BY NSICG/C98W57B22 REASON: 1.4 (c) DECLASSIFY ON: 03-28-2038

TRANSMIT VIA:  ☒ Teletype ☐ Facsimile ☐ AIRTEL	PRECEDENCE:  Immediate Priority Routine	CLASSIFICATION:  TOP SECRET  SECRET  CONFIDENTIAL UNCLAS E F T O UNCLAS	
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DEFAMATION LEAGUE	(ADL) IN POSSESS	ON OF BUREAU SENSITIVE	
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WHICH WAS A DOCUMENT PERTAINING TO THE NATION OF ISLAM.

BECAUSE A SAN FRANCISCO INTERVIEW OF A FORMER ADL EMPLOYEE

INDICATED THAT THE NOI DOCUMENT ORIGINATED IN LOS ANGELES, SAN

FRANCISCO ASKED LOS ANGELES TO DETERMINE IF THE DOCUMENT

ORIGINATED IN A LOS ANGELES FILE.

AFTER A REVIEW OF INFORMATION RECEIVED TO DATE CONCERNING

THE PREDICATION OF THIS INVESTIGATION AND DISCERNABLE FACTS, AND ALL JOVESTICATIVE SHAWSTED.

LOS ANGELES IS PLACING THIS INVESTIGATION INTO A CLOSED

STATUS. SHOULD FURTHER INFORMATION BE RECEIVED THAT

IMPLICATES A SPECIFIC INDIVIDUAL AS THE SOURCE WHO PROVIDED

THE NOI DOCUMENT TO THE ADL, CONSIDERATION WILL BE GIVEN TO

C BY 9933, DECL ON OADR

RE-OPENING THIS INVESTIGATION.

BT

